

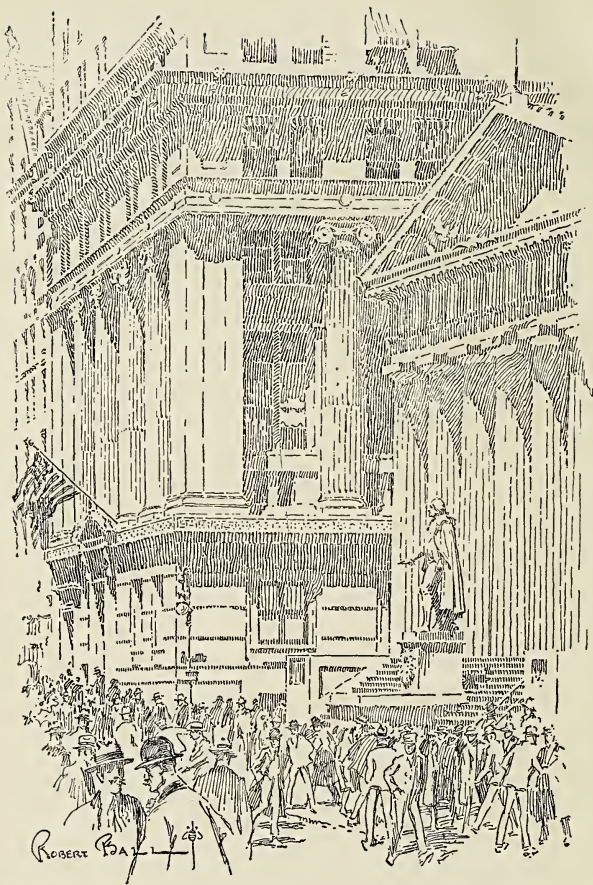
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AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR



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The Historic corner, at Wall and Nassau Streets,
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AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGES;
OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE
WITH THE ENTENTE ALLIES
AND THE CENTRAL POWERS, AND
CERTAIN OFFICIAL PAPERS AND
SPEECHES BEARING UPON THE
GREAT WAR, COMPILED AND CON-
DENSED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,
TOGETHER WITH A RÉSUMÉ OF THE
IMPORTANT BATTLES AND EVENTS
OF THE GREAT WAR



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NEW YORK



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TO OUR FRIENDS:

We have thought that you would be interested, as we have been, in rereading and preserving the messages of the President of the United States since the outbreak of the Great War, and the official correspondence with the European nations during this period, and also certain other noteworthy official utterances vital to the issues involved.

In the spirit of mutual interest we have secured these documents, mostly from official sources, and have compiled them in chronological order, eliminating and condensing such detail as we felt would be of little interest to the general reader.

Concerned as we all are with any matters that bear upon the welfare of our nation, we feel confident that you will be glad to have this compendium in a permanent form for ready reference.

BANKERS TRUST COMPANY

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION FEB 1 1961

CONTENTS

	PAGE
DECLARATIONS OF WAR - - - - -	8
NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES	
President's Proclamations to Belligerents - - - - -	9
President's Appeal to Citizens - - - - -	11
RULE AS TO NEUTRAL RIGHTS	
U. S. Asks Position of Belligerents as to Declaration of London -	13
Replies of European Powers - - - - -	13
U. S. Reverts to International Law and Treaty Rights - - - -	13
U. S. Holds Armed Merchant Vessels Legal - - - - -	14
RESTRAINTS OF NEUTRAL COMMERCE	
British Declaration of Blockade and Contraband Restrictions - -	13
U. S. Asserts Rights to Trade - - - - -	15
Great Britain Maintains Position Regarding Contraband - - -	17
Britain Explains Use of Neutral Flag - - - - -	29
U. S. Seeks Mutual Concessions from Belligerents - - - - -	30
Replies of Belligerents - - - - -	31
U. S. Insists on Usages of International Law - - - - -	32
Acquiescence Charged by Germany - - - - -	33
U. S. Denies Charge - - - - -	33
GERMANY'S SUBMARINE WARFARE	
Germany Proclaims Submarine Blockade - - - - -	19
U. S. Asserts Neutral Rights and "Strict Accountability" - - -	22
Germany Offers Conditional Modification - - - - -	24
Germany Defines Course Toward Ships of Neutrals - - - - -	53
U. S. Proposes Submarine Rules - - - - -	57
Germany Withdraws Submarine Pledge - - - - -	90
U. S. Breaks with Germany - - - - -	95
THE LUSITANIA CASE	
U. S. Lusitania Note - - - - -	36
Germany's Reply - - - - -	39
U. S. Denies Lusitania Was Armed - - - - -	42
Germany States Position - - - - -	47
U. S. Reply to Second Note - - - - -	50
German Assurance to Non-Combatants - - - - -	56
THE SUSSEX CASE	
Sinking of the Sussex - - - - -	59
Germans Discredit Identity - - - - -	59
U. S. Warns Germany of Severance of Relations - - - - -	60
Germany Promises Submarine Restriction Under Conditions - -	54-65
U. S. Accepts Pledge, Rejects Conditions - - - - -	69

OTHER SUBMARINE CASES

	PAGE
The Arabic Case - - - - -	56
Falaba, Cushing, Gulfight - - - - -	36
Germany's Reply on Cushing and Gulfight - - - - -	39
Nebraskan - - - - -	55
Leelanaw - - - - -	55
Orduna - - - - -	55
Englishman - - - - -	59
Manchester Engineer - - - - -	59
Eagle Point - - - - -	59
Berwindale - - - - -	59
Housatonic - - - - -	102
Lyman M. Law - - - - -	102

PEACE PROPOSALS

Germany Suggests Submission of Terms - - - - -	70
Lloyd George Discusses German Offer - - - - -	75
Formal Reply of Allies - - - - -	80
President Wilson's Peace Note to Belligerent Nations - - - - -	71
Central Powers' Response - - - - -	84
Allies' Reply - - - - -	84
President's Appeal for League of Peace - - - - -	88
President's Address to Congress on Break with Germany - - - - -	95
The President Refuses Overtures to Parley - - - - -	100
The President Requests Authority to Arm Merchantmen - - - - -	101
Lloyd George's Lincoln Day Speech - - - - -	106

AMERICAN MERCHANT SHIPS ARMED

A State of War - - - - -	110
--------------------------	-----

PRESIDENT WILSON'S CALL FOR DECLARATION OF WAR

A Warfare Against Mankind - - - - -	112
Vindication of Human Right - - - - -	112
Submarines, as Used, Outlaws - - - - -	113
Immediate Steps Against Germany - - - - -	114
Counsel and Action With the Allies - - - - -	114
Against Selfish and Autocratic Power - - - - -	115
Against Secret Intrigue and Cunning - - - - -	116
A Partnership of Democratic Nations - - - - -	117
Criminal Intrigues of Prussian Autocracy - - - - -	118
For the Liberation of the German Peoples Included - - - - -	119
Friends of the German People - - - - -	120
Right is More Precious than Peace - - - - -	121

WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

FORMALLY DECLARED - - - - -	122
Important Battles and Events of the War - - - - -	123

DECLARATIONS OF WAR

- Austria-Hungary against Serbia, July 28, 1914.
- Germany against Russia, August 1, 1914.
- Germany against France, August 3, 1914.
- France against Germany, August 3, 1914.
- Germany against Belgium, without declaration, August 4, 1914.
- Great Britain against Germany, August 5, 1914.
- Austria-Hungary against Russia, August 6, 1914.
- Montenegro against Austria, August 10, 1914.
- France against Austria-Hungary, August 12, 1914.
- Great Britain against Austria-Hungary, August 13, 1914.
- Japan against Germany, August 23, 1914.
- Japan against Austria, August 26, 1914.
- Turkey against Russia, August 27, 1914.
- Germany against Belgium, August 28, 1914.
- Turkey against Great Britain, November 5, 1914.
- Turkey against Belgium, November 27, 1914.
- Turkey against France, November 27, 1914.
- Turkey against Japan, November 27, 1914.
- Turkey against Russia, November 27, 1914.
- Italy against Austria, May 23, 1915.
- Turkey against Serbia, August 2, 1915.
- Turkey against Italy, August 2, 1915.
- Italy against Turkey, August 21, 1915.
- Great Britain against Bulgaria, October 16, 1915.
- France against Bulgaria, October 18, 1915.
- Italy against Bulgaria, October 19, 1915.
- Bulgaria against Italy, October 19, 1915.
- Albania against Austria, December 25, 1915.
- Albania against Bulgaria, January 1, 1916.
- Germany against Portugal, March 9, 1916.
- Austria against Portugal, March 16, 1916.
- Portugal against Austria, March 16, 1916.
- Germany against Rumania, August 27, 1916.
- Turkey against Rumania, August 30, 1916.
- Germany against Rumania, state of war only, Sept. 14, 1916.
- Greek Provisional Government against Bulgaria, Nov. 28, 1916.
- Greek Provisional Government against Germany, Nov. 28, 1916.
- United States against Germany, April 6, 1917.

NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES

The President's Proclamations to Belligerents

IMMEDIATELY following the declarations of war in Europe the President issued a Neutrality Proclamation, declaring and enjoining neutrality of a like purport, to the belligerent nations. In this proclamation of August 14, 1914, without interfering with the free expression of opinion and sympathy or with the commercial manufacture or sale of arms or munitions of war, "ordinarily known as contraband of war," he enjoined upon all persons within the territory of the United States the duty of impartial neutrality during the existence of the contest. He quoted the penal code prohibiting all persons from engaging to serve in the military or naval services of belligerents while within United States territory, retaining other persons for belligerent purposes, fitting out and arming or procuring to be fitted out and armed any ship or vessel to be employed in the service of either of said belligerents, furnishing supplies to ships of war in the service of any belligerent or beginning or setting on foot or aiding any military expedition or enterprise to be carried on from the territory or jurisdiction of the United States against any of the belligerents. He issued warnings against the placing

of any warlike equipment upon belligerent war vessels while within American waters, restricting supplies to food, fuel and repairs necessary to reach their home port, and limited the stay of any belligerent war vessel in American harbors to twenty-four hours.

He warned all citizens and all persons residing within the territory of the United States not to carry "contraband of war" on the high seas, nor to "attempt to break any blockade which may be lawfully established and maintained during the wars without incurring the risk of hostile capture and the penalties denounced by the law of nations in that behalf."

A MERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR

AN APPEAL AND DEFINITION OF NEUTRALITY BY THE PRESIDENT

HARDLY had war gotten well under way in Europe before it was apparent that the passions and inherent partisanship of alien born citizens of the United States threatened to disturb national neutrality. On August 14th, 1914, the President issued a note to the Senate on the subject, as follows:

“MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself, during these last troubled weeks, what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the Nation against distress and disaster.

“The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the Nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

“The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to

allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

"Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

"I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

"My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a Nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a Nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

"Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?"

THE DECLARATION OF LONDON

PREVIOUS to this note the Secretary of State, on August 6, 1914, instructed our Ambassadors to all the belligerent countries to inquire whether the Declaration of London, of 1909, should be applicable to naval warfare during the existing conflict, expressing the belief that such application would prevent misunderstandings between belligerent powers and neutrals.

Germany and Austria-Hungary expressed conditional willingness. Great Britain, followed by France and Russia, submitted certain modifications, enlarging the scope under which contraband goods might be seized and reconstruing the rules governing prize courts.

MAINTAINING OUR RIGHTS AND DUTIES UNDER EXISTING INTERNATIONAL LAW

WHEREUPON the Secretary of State, in a dispatch to the belligerent nations, withdrew its suggestion and declared that this Government would insist "that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States irrespective of the provisions of the Declaration of London;" and "that this Government reserves the right to enter a protest or demand in every case in which the rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of the belligerent Governments."

BRITISH DECLARATION OF BLOCKADE AND CONTRABAND

GREAT BRITAIN declared a blockade of German ports at the commencement of the war and on August 5, 1914, issued a list of absolute and conditional contraband of war, which was successively extended to cover unwrought copper, lead, glycerine, rubber and other materials which might be used in manufacturing munitions of war. In a "white paper" April 13, 1916, all the remaining conditional

contraband list was made absolute. Almost identically each belligerent nation issued contraband lists.

ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS
HELD TO BE LEGAL

THE German Foreign Office transmitted a memorandum to Ambassador Gerard October 15, 1915, referring to an official notice in the Westminster Gazette, stating that the Department of State at Washington had ruled that armed merchant ships of belligerent nations should be treated as merchant ships while in American ports, provided the armament was for defensive purposes only.

The Foreign Office declared that this ruling failed to comply with neutrality, adding that British vessels were equipped with armament for the purpose of resisting German cruisers, contrary to international law.

The Acting Secretary of State replied, dissenting from the German view. He asserted:

"The practice of a majority of nations and the consensus of opinion by the leading authorities on international law, including many German writers, support the proposition that merchant vessels may arm for defense without losing their private character and that they may employ such armament against hostile attack without contravening the principles of international law."

The purpose of an armament on a merchant vessel, it was stated, was to be determined by various circumstances, among which are the number and position of the guns, the quantity of ammunition and fuel, the number and sex of the passengers, nature of cargo, etc.

Nevertheless, to avoid controversy, it was stated, the United States government had expressed its disapproval of a practice which compelled it to pass upon a vessel's intended use, with the possibility of becoming involved in a charge of un-neutral conduct through error. The German government was assured that only two such armed merchantmen had entered and cleared in the preceding two months.

RESTRAINTS OF NEUTRAL COMMERCE

THE frequent seizures and detentions of American cargoes destined to neutral European ports became so serious that on December 26, 1914, the Secretary of State addressed a note, setting forth his attitude, to the British Government, a misconstruction of which, the note set forth, cannot but be considered to be an "infringement upon the rights of American citizens." Continuing, the despatch in part stated: "It is therefore a matter of deep regret that, though nearly five months have passed since the war began, the British Government have not materially changed their policy and do not treat less rigorously ships and cargoes passing between neutral ports in the peaceful pursuit of lawful commerce, which belligerents should protect rather than interrupt. The greater freedom from detention and seizure which was confidently expected to result from consigning shipments to definite consignees, rather than 'to order,' is still awaited."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
ADDRESSES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON
RESTRAINTS ON COMMERCE

"IT IS needless to point out to His Majesty's Government, usually the champion of the freedom of the seas and the rights of trade, that peace, not war, is the normal relation between nations, and that the commerce between countries which are not belligerents should not be interfered with by those at war unless such interference is manifestly an imperative necessity to protect their national safety, and then only to the extent that it is a necessity. It is with no lack of appreciation of the momentous nature of the present struggle in which Great Britain is engaged and with no selfish desire to gain undue commercial advantage that this Government is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the

present policy of His Majesty's Government toward neutral ships and cargoes exceeds the manifest necessity of a belligerent and constitutes restrictions upon the rights of American citizens on the high seas which are not justified by the rules of international law or required under the principle of self-preservation.

"The Government of the United States does not intend at this time to discuss the propriety of including certain articles in the lists of absolute and conditional contraband, which have been proclaimed by His Majesty. Open to objection as some of these seem to this Government, the chief ground of present complaint is the treatment of cargoes of both classes of articles when bound to neutral ports.

"Articles listed as absolute contraband, shipped from the United States and consigned to neutral countries, have been seized and detained on the ground that the countries to which they were destined have not prohibited the exportation of such articles. Unwarranted as such detentions are, in the opinion of this Government, American exporters are further perplexed by the apparent indecision of the British authorities in applying their own rules to neutral cargoes. For example, a shipment of copper from this country to a specified consignee in Sweden was detained because, as was stated by Great Britain, Sweden had placed no embargo on copper. . On the other hand, Italy not only prohibited the export of copper, but, as this Government is informed, put in force a decree that shipments to Italian consignees or 'to order,' which arrive in ports of Italy, cannot be exported or transshipped. The only exception Italy makes is of copper which passes through that country in transit to another country. In spite of these decrees, however, the British Foreign Office has thus far declined to affirm that copper shipments consigned to Italy will not be molested on the high seas. Seizures are so numerous and delays so prolonged that exporters are afraid to send their copper to Italy, steamship lines decline to accept it, and insurers refuse to issue policies upon it. In a word, a legitimate trade is being greatly impaired through uncertainty as to the treatment

which it may expect at the hands of the British authorities. * * *

"The Government of the United States readily admits the full right of a belligerent to visit and search on the high seas the vessels of American citizens or other neutral vessels carrying American goods and to detain them *when there is sufficient evidence to justify a belief that contraband articles are in their cargoes*: but His Majesty's Government, judging by their own experience in the past, must realize that this Government cannot without protest permit American ships or American cargoes to be taken into British ports and there detained for the purpose of searching generally for evidence of contraband, or upon presumptions created by special municipal enactments which are clearly at variance with international law and practice.

"This Government believes, and earnestly hopes His Majesty's Government will come to the same belief, that a course of conduct more in conformity with the rules of international usage, which Great Britain has strongly sanctioned for many years, will in the end better serve the interest of belligerents as well as those of neutrals."

GREAT BRITAIN'S REPLY ON RESTRAINTS ON COMMERCE

IN A very exhaustive reply, Jan. 7, 1915, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, pointed out the vast increase in our foreign trade with neutral countries as an evidence that our trade had not fallen off because of the seizure of our cargoes or the activities of the British authorities, and went on to say: "His Majesty's Government cordially concur in the principle enunciated by the Government of the United States that a belligerent, in dealing with trade between neutrals, should not interfere unless such interference is necessary to protect the belligerent's national safety, and then only to the extent to which this is necessary. We shall endeavor to keep our action within the limits of this principle on the understanding that it admits our right to interfere when such inter-

ference is not with 'bona fide' trade between the United States and another neutral country, but with trade in contraband destined for the enemy's country, and we are ready, whenever our action may unintentionally exceed this principle, to make redress. * * *

"We are confronted with the growing danger that neutral countries contiguous to the enemy will become on a scale hitherto unprecedented a base of supplies for the armed forces of our enemies and for materials for manufacturing armament. The trade figures of imports show how strong this tendency is, but we have no complaint to make of the attitude of the Governments of those countries, which so far as we are aware have not departed from proper rules of neutrality. We endeavor in the interest of our own national safety to prevent this danger by intercepting goods really destined for the enemy without interfering with those which are 'bona fide' neutral."

In a subsequent note on this subject, Mr. Grey maintained that "the general result is to show convincingly that the naval operations of Great Britain are not the cause of any diminution in the volume of American exports, and that if the commerce of the United States is in the unfavorable condition which your Excellency describes, the cause ought in fairness to be sought elsewhere than in the activities of His Majesty's naval forces."

He also said that "no one in these days will dispute the general proposition that a belligerent is entitled to capture contraband goods on their way to the enemy; that right has now become consecrated by long usage and general acquiescence."

He further quoted Secretary Seward in the days of the Civil War, in reference to "the course of the diplomatic discussion arising out of the capture of some goods on their way to Matamoros, which were believed to be for the insurgents, as follows:

"Neutrals engaged in honest trade with Matamoros must expect to experience inconvenience from the existing

blockade of Brownsville and the adjacent coast of Texas. While this Government unfeignedly regrets this inconvenience, it cannot relinquish any of its belligerent rights to favor contraband trade with insurgent territory. By insisting upon those rights, however, it is sure that that necessity for their exercise at all, which must be deplored by every friendly commercial power, will the more speedily be terminated."

Mr. Grey maintained the rights to seize and stop importations of contraband to neutral countries, closing his exhaustive treatise on the subject as follows: "It will still be our endeavor to avoid injury and loss to neutrals, but the announcement by the German Government of their intention to sink merchant vessels and their cargoes without verification of their nationality or character, and without making any provision for the safety of non-combatant crews or giving them a chance of saving their lives, had made it necessary for His Majesty's Government to consider what measures they should adopt to protect their interests. It is impossible for one belligerent to depart from rules and precedents and for the other to remain bound by them."

GERMANY'S SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

CLOSELY following upon the American protest against the seizure of cargoes and detention of ships bound for neutral countries, Germany declared a submarine blockade of the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland. The note was transmitted by Ambassador Gerard, February 6th, 1915, and was as follows:

PROCLAMATION

1. The waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English channel, are hereby declared to be war zone. On and after the 18th of February, 1915, every enemy merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account.

2. Even neutral ships are exposed to danger in the war zone, as in view of the misuse of neutral flags ordered on January 31 by the British Government and of the accidents of naval war, it cannot always be avoided to strike even neutral ships in attacks that are directed at enemy ships.

3. Northward navigation around the Shetland Islands, in the eastern waters of the North Sea, and in a strip of not less than 30 miles width along the Netherland coast, is in no danger.

VON POHL

Chief of the Admiral Staff of the Navy

In a second enclosure, after charging bad faith on the part of the British Government with respect to the Declaration of London and the Declaration of Paris, unfairness in regard to contraband rules and the unlawful removal of German subjects from neutral ships, and a plan to starve Germany by blockade of the North Sea, it was asserted that the neutral powers had acquiesced in the measures of the British Government. Reference was made to "theoretical protests" by neutrals condoning acts which Great Britain excused as necessary to her vital interests.

GERMANY WARNS NEUTRALS IN BLOCKADE ZONES

SUBMARINE warfare was proclaimed as follows: "The time has come for Germany also to invoke such vital interests. It therefore finds itself under the necessity, to its regret, of taking military measures against England in retaliation of the practice followed by England. Just as England declared the whole North Sea between Scotland and Norway to be comprised within the seat of war, so does Germany now declare the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, to be comprised within the seat of war, and will prevent by all the military means at its disposal all navigation by the enemy in those waters. To this end it will endeavor to destroy, after February 18 next, any merchant vessels of the enemy which present themselves at the seat of war above indicated,

although it may not always be possible to avert the dangers which may menace persons and merchandise. Neutral powers are accordingly forewarned not to continue to entrust their crews, passengers, or merchandise to such vessels. Their attention is furthermore called to the fact that it is of urgency to recommend to their own vessels to steer clear of these waters. It is true that the German Navy has received instructions to abstain from all violence against neutral vessels recognizable as such; but in view of the hazards of war, and of the misuse of the neutral flag ordered by the British Government, it will not always be possible to prevent a neutral vessel from becoming the victim of an attack intended to be directed against a vessel of the enemy. It is expressly declared that navigation in the waters north of the Shetland Islands is outside the danger zone, as well as navigation in the eastern part of the North Sea and in a zone thirty marine miles wide along the Dutch coast.

"The German Government announces this measure at a time permitting enemy and neutral ships to make the necessary arrangements to reach the ports situated at the seat of war. They hope that the neutral powers will accord consideration to the vital interests of Germany equally with those of England, and will on their part assist in keeping their subjects and their goods far from the seat of war; the more so since they likewise have a great interest in seeing the termination, at an early day, of the war now ravaging."

REPLY OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SUBMARINE NOTE

THE reply of the United States to the German submarine proclamation reviewed the allegations of illegal conduct on the part of Germany's enemies and announced itself compelled to call attention to the serious possibilities of the course of action indicated. In reference to the blockade and proposed submarine activities, Secretary Bryan said:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, Feb. 10, 1915

* * * "The Government of the United States views those possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and indeed its duty in the circumstances, to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relations between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens.

"It is of course not necessary to remind the German Government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which this Government does not understand to be proposed in this case. To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible. The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such questions that this Government understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized.

"This Government has carefully noted the explanatory statement issued by the Imperial German Government at the same time with the proclamation of the German Admiralty, and takes this occasion to remind the Imperial German Government very respectfully that the Government of the United States is open to none of the criticisms for unneutral action to which the German Government believe the Governments of certain of other neutral nations have laid

themselves open; that the Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken in all such matters a position which warrants it in holding those Governments responsible in the proper way for any untoward effects upon American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify; and that it, therefore, regards itself as free in the present instance to take with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles the position indicated in this note.

“If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard indeed to reconcile with the friendly relations now so happily subsisting between the two Governments.

“If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

“The Government of the United States, in view of these considerations, which it urges with the greatest respect and with the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstanding may arise and no circumstance occur that might even cloud the intercourse of the two Governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit

and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

"It is added for the information of the Imperial Government that representations have been made to His Britannic Majesty's Government in respect to the unwarranted use of the American flag for the protection of British ships."

BRYAN

GERMANY OFFERS
CONDITIONAL MODIFICATIONS OF
SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

UNDER date February 16, 1915, the German Foreign Office repeated that the German Government was forced into its contemplated action through certain acts of its enemies contrary to "grave violations of international law." "It is conceded," continues the German note, "that the intention of all these aggressions is to cut off Germany from all supplies and thereby to deliver up to death by famine a peaceful civilian population, a procedure contrary to law of war and every dictate of humanity.

"The neutrals have not been able to prevent this interception of different kinds of trade with Germany contrary to international law. It is true that the American Government have protested against England's procedure, and Germany is glad to acknowledge this, but in spite of this protest and the protests of the other neutral Governments England has not allowed herself to be dissuaded from the course originally adopted. Thus, the American ship *Wilhelmina* was recently brought into port by England, although her cargo was destined solely for the civil population of Germany and was to be used only for this purpose, according to an express declaration of the German Government.

"In this way the following has been created: Germany is to all intents and purposes cut off from oversea supplies with the toleration, tacit or protesting, of the neutrals, regardless of whether it is a question of goods which are

absolute contraband or only conditional contraband or not contraband at all, following the law generally recognized before the outbreak of the war. On the other hand England with the indulgence of neutral Governments is not only being provided with such goods as are not contraband or merely conditional contraband, namely, foodstuffs, raw material, et cetera, although these are treated by England when Germany is in question as absolute contraband, but also with goods which have been regularly and unquestionably acknowledged to be absolute contraband. The German Government believe that they are obliged to point out very particularly and with the greatest emphasis, that a trade in arms exists between American manufacturers and Germany's enemies which is estimated at many hundred million marks.

"The German Government have given due recognition to the fact that as a matter of form the exercise of rights and the toleration of wrong on the part of neutrals is limited by their pleasure alone and involves no formal breach of neutrality. The German Government have not in consequence made any charge of formal breach of neutrality. The German Government can not, however, do otherwise, especially in the interest of absolute clearness in the relations between the two countries, than to emphasize that they, in common with the public opinion in Germany, feel themselves placed at a great disadvantage through the fact that the neutral powers have hitherto achieved no success or only an unmeaning success in their assertion of the right to trade with Germany, acknowledged to be legitimate by international law, whereas they make unlimited use of their right to tolerate trade in contraband with England and our other enemies. Conceded that it is the formal right of neutrals not to protect their legitimate trade with Germany and even to allow themselves knowingly and willingly to be induced by England to restrict such trade, it is on the other hand not less their good right, although unfortunately not exercised, to stop trade in contraband, especially the trade in arms, with Germany's enemies.

"In view of this situation the German Government see themselves compelled, after six months of patience and watchful waiting, to meet England's murderous method of conducting maritime war with drastic counter measures. If England invokes the powers of famine as an ally in its struggles against Germany, with the intention of leaving a civilized people the alternative of perishing in misery or submitting to the yoke of England's political and commercial will, the German Government are today determined to take up the gauntlet and to appeal to the same grim ally. They rely on the neutrals, who have hitherto tacitly or under protest submitted to the consequences, detrimental to themselves, of England's war of famine, to display not less tolerance toward Germany, even if the German measures constitute new forms of maritime war, as has hitherto been the case with the English measures.

GERMANY DECLARES INTENTION TO
SUPPRESS SUPPLY OF ALL
WAR MATERIAL TO ENGLAND

"IN ADDITION to this, the German Government are determined to suppress with all the means at their disposal the supply of war material to England and her allies and assume at the same time that it is a matter of course that the neutral Governments which have hitherto undertaken no action against the trade in arms which Germany's enemies do not intend to oppose the forcible suppression of this trade by Germany.

"Proceeding from these points of view the German Admiralty has declared the zone prescribed by it the seat of war; it will obstruct this area of maritime war by mines wherever possible and also endeavor to destroy the merchant vessels of the enemy in any other way.

"It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government, acting in obedience to these compelling circumstances, ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property, but on the other hand they cannot be blind to the fact that dangers arise through the action to be carried

out against England which menace without discrimination all trade within the area of maritime war. This applies as a matter of course to war mines, which place any ship approaching a mined area in danger, even if the limits of international law are adhered to most strictly.

"The German Government believe that they are all the more justified in the hope that the neutral powers will become reconciled with this, just as they have with the serious injury caused them thus far by England's measures, because it is their will to do everything in any way compatible with the accomplishment of their purpose for the protection of neutral shipping, even within the area of maritime war.

"They furnish the first proof of their good will by announcing the measures intended by them at a time not less than two weeks beforehand, in order to give neutral shipping an opportunity to make the necessary arrangements to avoid the threatening danger. The safest method of doing this is to stay away from the area of maritime war. Neutral ships entering the closed waters in spite of this announcement, given so far in advance, and which seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military purpose against England, bear their own responsibility for any unfortunate accidents. The German Government on their side expressly decline all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences.

GERMANY WILL DESTROY ENEMY MERCHANT VESSELS ONLY

"FURTHERMORE, the German Government announced merely the destruction of enemy merchant vessels found within the area of maritime war, and not the destruction of all merchant vessels, as the American Government appear to have erroneously understood. This limitation which the German Government have imposed upon themselves impairs the military purpose, especially since the presumption will prevail, even in the case of neutral ships, that they have contraband on board, in view of the interpretation of the idea of contraband in which the English

Government have indulged as regards Germany and which the German Government will accordingly apply against England.

"Naturally the Imperial Government are not willing to waive the right to establish the presence of contraband in the cargoes of neutral ships and, in cases requiring it, to take any action necessary on the grounds established. Finally, the German Government are prepared to accord, in conjunction with the American Government, the most earnest consideration to any measure that might be calculated to insure the safety of legitimate shipping of neutrals within the seat of war. They cannot, however, overlook the fact that all efforts in this direction are considerably hampered by two circumstances: First, by the misuse of the neutral flag by English merchant vessels, which in the meantime has probably been established beyond a doubt by the American Government likewise. Second, by the above-mentioned trade in contraband, especially war materials, by neutral merchant vessels. In regard to the latter point, the German Government ventures to hope that the American Government upon reconsideration will see their way clear to a measure of intervention in accordance with the spirit of true neutrality. * * *

REQUESTS THE UNITED STATES TO CONVOY SHIPS CARRYING PEACEFUL CARGOES

"IN ORDER to meet in the safest manner all the consequences of mistaking an American for a hostile merchant vessel, the German Government recommended that (although this would not apply in the case of danger from mines) the United States convoy their ships carrying peaceable cargoes and traversing the English seat of maritime war in order to make them recognizable. In this connection the German Government believe it should be made a condition that only such ships should be convoyed as carry no merchandise which would have to be considered as contraband according to the interpretation applied by England against Germany. The German Government are

prepared to enter into immediate negotiations with the American Government relative to the manner of convoy. They would, however, be particularly grateful if the American Government would urgently advise their merchant vessels to avoid the English seat of maritime war, at any rate until the flag question is settled. * * * Should the American Government at the eleventh hour succeed in removing, by virtue of the weight which they have the right and ability to throw into the scales of the fate of peoples, the reasons which have made it the imperative duty of the German Government to take the action indicated, should the American Government in particular find a way to bring about the observation of the Declaration of London on the part of the Powers at war with Germany and thereby to render possible for Germany the legitimate supply of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials, the German Government would recognize this as a service which could not be too highly estimated in favor of more humane conduct of war and would gladly draw the necessary conclusions from the new situation thus created."

VON JAGOW

GREAT BRITAIN EXPLAINS THE USE OF THE AMERICAN FLAG

COMPLAINTS in the German notes against the use of the American flag by British merchant vessels to escape attack were laid before the British Government by the American Secretary of State under date February 10, 1915. Such usage was justified by Sir Edward Grey, British Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a note February 19. It was stated that Great Britain when neutral had always accorded the use of its flag to merchant vessels of belligerent nations for the same purpose. He asserted that the obligations of a belligerent warship to ascertain for itself the nationality of a merchant vessel was sufficient protection.

UNITED STATES SEEKS
MUTUAL CONCESSIONS REGARDING
MINES AND FOOD STUFFS

UNDER date February 20, 1915, the American Secretary of State Bryan sent identic notes through its Ambassadors to the Governments of Great Britain and Germany, seeking the following mutual concessions for the protection of neutral shippings:

"GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN TO AGREE:

"1. That neither will sow any floating mines, whether upon the high seas or in territorial waters; that neither will plant on the high seas anchored mines except within cannon range of harbors, for defensive purposes only; and that all mines shall bear the stamp of the Government planting them and be so constructed as to become harmless if separated from their moorings.

"2. That neither will use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search.

"3. That each will require their respective merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for the purpose of *disguise or ruse de guerre*.

"GERMANY TO AGREE:

"That all importations of food or foodstuffs from the United States and (from such other neutral countries as may ask it) into Germany shall be consigned to agencies to be designated by the United States Government; that these American agencies shall have entire charge and control, without interference on the part of the German Government, of the receipt and distribution of such importations, and shall distribute them solely to retail dealers bearing licenses from the German Government entitling them to receive and furnish such food and foodstuffs to noncombatants only; that any violation of the terms of the retailers' licenses

shall work a forfeiture of their rights to receive such food and foodstuffs for this purpose; and that such food and foodstuffs will not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose whatsoever or be diverted to the use of the armed forces of Germany.

“GREAT BRITAIN TO AGREE:

“That food and foodstuffs will not be placed upon the absolute contraband list and that shipments of such commodities will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities if consigned to agencies designated by the United States Government in Germany for the receipt and distribution of such cargoes to licensed German retailers for distribution solely to the non-combatant population.

“In submitting this proposed basis of agreement this Government does not wish to be understood as admitting or denying any belligerent or neutral right established by the principles of international law, but would consider the agreement, if acceptable to the interested powers, a *modus vivendi* based upon expediency rather than legal right and as not binding upon the United States either in its present form or in a modified form until accepted by this Government.”

THE REPLIES OF THE BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS

THE German Government in a dispatch of March 1, 1915, insisted upon the right to use submarines against mercantile marine to enforce the right of visit and search.

“The German Government would undertake not to use their submarines to attack mercantile of any flag except when necessary to enforce the right of visit and search. Should the enemy nationality of the vessel or the presence of contraband be ascertained, submarine would proceed in accordance with the general rules of international law.”

It refused to admit the right of mercantile vessels of belligerents to be armed, denied the right of belligerents to use neutral flags and insisted on the admission of foodstuffs and other commodities needed by the civilian population.

The British and French replies denied the legality of submarine attacks on merchant ships and declared that in retaliation for German methods of sea warfare they must frame measures to prevent commodities of any kind from entering or reaching Germany. Assuring the safety of neutral life and property, it was announced:

"The British and French Governments will therefore hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation."

The American Government entered into a protracted correspondence with the British and French Governments in protest against the stoppage of ships bound to and from neutral ports or carrying only conditional contraband. A note to Great Britain March 30, 1915, declared:

"The Government of the United States is, of course, not oblivious to the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated. It might be ready to admit that the old form of 'close' blockade, with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports, is no longer practicable in face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarine, mines and air craft; but it can hardly be maintained that, whatever form of effective blockade may be made use of, it is impossible to conform at least to the spirit and principles of the established rules of war," but concludes:

"As stated in its communication of October 22, 1914, 'this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of

the United States, irrespective of the provisions of the Declaration of London, and that this Government reserve to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in each case in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of the British Government.' ”

ACQUIESCENCE

CHARGED BY GERMANY

BASING his complaint particularly on the seizure by British authorities of a cargo of grain bound for German consignees, the German Ambassador presented a memorandum to the American Secretary of State of April 4, 1915. It was asserted that in spite of an assurance from the German Government guaranteeing that all American grain should be devoted entirely to civilian consumption, the United States Government had failed to obtain a release of the vessel in eight months.

“Such a long delay, especially in matters of food supply, is equivalent to entire denial.

“The Imperial Embassy must therefore assume that the United States Government acquiesces in the violations of international law by Great Britain.”

Further protest was made on the exportation of arms to the allies.

DENIAL OF GERMAN CHARGES OF

ACQUIESCENCE

THE charges contained in this note were denied in a note from the Secretary of State, April 21, 1915, which said in part:

“This Government has at no time and in no manner yielded any one of its rights as a neutral to any of the present belligerents. It has acknowledged, as a matter of course, the right of visit and search and the right to apply the rules of contraband of war to articles of commerce. It has, indeed, insisted upon the use of visit and search as an abso-

lutely necessary safeguard against mistaking neutral vessels for vessels owned by an enemy and against mistaking legal cargoes for illegal. It has admitted also the right of blockade if actually exercised and effectively maintained. These are merely the well-known limitations which war places upon neutral commerce on the high seas. But nothing beyond these has it conceded. I call Your Excellency's attention to this, notwithstanding it is already known to all the world as a consequence of the publication of our correspondence in regard to these matters with several of the belligerent nations, because I can not assume that you have official cognizance of it.

"In the second place, this Government attempted to secure from the German and British Governments mutual concessions with regard to the measures those Governments respectively adopted for the interruption of trade on the high seas. This it did, not of right, but merely as exercising the privileges of a sincere friend of both parties and as indicating its impartial good will. The attempt was unsuccessful; but I regret that Your Excellency did not deem it worthy of mention in modification of the impressions you expressed. We had hoped that this act on our part had shown our spirit in these times of distressing war as our diplomatic correspondence had shown our steadfast refusal to acknowledge the right of any belligerent to alter the accepted rules of war at sea in so far as they affect the rights and interests of neutrals.

U. S. REFUSES TO
CONSIDER THE
PLACING OF AN
EMBARGO ON ARMS

"IN THE third place, I note with sincere regret that, in discussing the sale and exportation of arms by citizens of the United States to the enemies of Germany, Your Excellency seems to be under the impression that it was within the choice of the Government of the United States, notwithstanding its professed neutrality and its diligent efforts

to maintain it in other particulars, to inhibit this trade, and that its failure to do so manifested an unfair attitude toward Germany. This Government holds, as I believe Your Excellency is aware, and as it is constrained to hold in view of the present indisputable doctrines of accepted international law, that any change in its own laws of neutrality during the progress of a war which would affect unequally the relations of the United States with the nations at war would be an unjustifiable departure from the principle of strict neutrality by which it has consistently sought to direct its actions, and I respectfully submit that none of the circumstances urged in Your Excellency's memorandum alters the principle involved. The placing of an embargo on the trade in arms at the present time would constitute such a change and be a direct violation of the neutrality of the United States. It will, I feel assured, be clear to Your Excellency that, holding this view and considering itself in honor bound by it, it is out of the question for this Government to consider such a course."

G

GERMANY'S SUBMARINE WARFARE

THE FALABA, a British steamer, was sunk by a German submarine, March 28, 1915, with the loss of one American life.

The Cushing, an American vessel, was attacked by a German aeroplane, March 28.

The Gulflight an American vessel, was torpedoed May 1, with the loss of two American lives.

On May 7, the Lusitania, sailing from New York to Liverpool, was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine, with the loss of more than 1000 lives, over 100 of the victims being Americans.

The American Secretary of State on May 13, forwarded a note to the American Ambassador at Berlin, instructing him to call upon the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, read him the communication and leave with him a copy.

THE LUSITANIA NOTE

THE note recited that:

"In view of the recent acts of German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas which culminated in the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamship Lusitania on May 7, 1915, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives, it is clearly wise and desirable that the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government should come to a clear understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted."

The attacks on the Falaba, Cushing, Gulflight and finally the Lusitania, are described as a series of events which the Government of the United States "has observed with growing concern, distress and amazement."

It characterized the attacks as inconsistent with the previous attitude of the Imperial German Government in matters of international right and particularly with regard to freedom of the seas, and the instructions understood to have been given to commanders, and expressed belief that they were committed without sanction.

Against the plea of necessity contained in the German submarine proclamation the note set the "strict accountability" clause and declared the principle of visit and search, declaring that:

"The lives of non-combatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman."

Reviewing the impossibility of exercise of the prescribed methods of capture by a vessel the size of a submarine, the note pointed out that time was not even given for the poor measure of safety of placing the passengers and crew in small boats, and that in two cases no warning whatever was given.

"Manifestly," the note continued, "submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity. American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights." Continues the note:

"There was recently published in the newspapers of the United States, I regret to inform the Imperial German Government, a formal warning, purporting to come from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington, addressed

to the people of the United States, and stating, in effect, that any citizen of the United States who exercised his right of free travel upon the seas would do so at his peril if his journey should take him within the zone of waters within which the Imperial German Navy was using submarines against the commerce of Great Britain and France, notwithstanding the respectful but very earnest protest of his Government, the Government of the United States. I do not refer to this for the purpose of calling the attention of the Imperial German Government at this time to the surprising irregularity of a communication from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington addressed to the people of the United States through the newspapers, but only for the purpose of pointing out that no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission.

“Long acquainted as this Government has been with the character of the Imperial German Government and with the high principles of equity by which they have in the past been actuated and guided, the Government of the United States can not believe that the commanders of the vessels which committed these acts of lawlessness did so except under a misapprehension of the orders issued by the Imperial German naval authorities. It takes it for granted that, at least within the practical possibilities of every such case, the commanders even of submarines were expected to do nothing that would involve the lives of noncombatants or the safety of neutral ships, even at the cost of failing of their object of capture or destruction. It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German Government will disavow the acts of which the Government of the United States complains, that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the Imperial German Government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended.

"The Government and people of the United States look to the Imperial German Government for just, prompt, and enlightened action in this vital matter with the greater confidence, because the United States and Germany are bound together not only by special ties of friendship but also by the explicit stipulations of the treaty of 1828 between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia.

"Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligation, if no loss of life results, can not justify or excuse a practice, the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

"The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

BRYAN

GERMAN REPLY TO LUSITANIA DISASTER

THE reply of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 28, 1915, charged that the *Lusitania* was armed, that she carried large quantities of ammunition and that American passengers were being made a shield, and had been sacrificed by the steamship company through placing ammunition where it might explode and hasten sinking of the vessel. It sought assistance of the United States Government in obtaining concessions from Great Britain before satisfaction was accorded for the loss of neutral life and property. The note dismissed the *Cushing* and *Gulflight* affairs as accidents, and extended the assurance of indemnity in such cases. In the case of the *Falaba*, it was asserted that the captain had sought to flee. These cases were dismissed before taking up the greater catastrophe. Of this the note said:

"With regard to the loss of life when the British passenger steamer *Lusitania* was sunk, the German Government has already expressed its deep regret to the neutral Governments concerned that nationals of those countries lost their lives on that occasion. The Imperial Government must state for the rest the impression that certain important facts most directly connected with the sinking of the *Lusitania* may have escaped the attention of the Government of the United States. It therefore considers it necessary in the interest of the clear and full understanding aimed at by either Government primarily to convince itself that the reports of the facts which are before the two Governments are complete and in agreement.

"The Government of the United States proceeds on the assumption that the *Lusitania* is to be considered as an ordinary unarmed merchant vessel. The Imperial Government begs in this connection to point out that the *Lusitania* was one of the largest and fastest English commerce steamers, constructed with Government funds as auxiliary cruisers, and is expressly included in the navy list published by the British Admiralty. It is moreover known to the Imperial Government from reliable information furnished by its officials and neutral passengers that for some time practically all the more valuable English merchant vessels have been provided with guns, ammunition, and other weapons, and reinforced with a crew specially practiced in manning guns. According to reports at hand here, the *Lusitania*, when she left New York, undoubtedly had guns on board which were mounted under decks and masked.

"The Imperial Government furthermore has the honor to direct the particular attention of the American Government to the fact that the British Admiralty by a secret instruction of February of this year advised the British merchant marine not only to seek protection behind neutral flags and markings, but even when so disguised to attack German submarines by ramming them. High rewards have been offered by the British Government as a special incentive for the destruction of the submarines by merchant

vessels, and such rewards have already been paid out. In view of these facts, which are satisfactorily known to it, the Imperial Government is unable to consider English merchant vessels any longer as 'undefended territory' in the zone of maritime war designated by the Admiralty Staff of the Imperial German Navy; the German commanders are consequently no longer in a position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual and with which they invariably complied before this. Lastly, the Imperial Government must specially point out that on her last trip the *Lusitania*, as on earlier occasions, had Canadian troops and munitions on board, including no less than 5,400 cases of ammunition destined for the destruction of brave German soldiers who are fulfilling with self-sacrifice and devotion their duty in the service of the Fatherland. The German Government believes that it acts in just self-defense when it seeks to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition destined for the enemy with the means of war at its command. The English steamship company must have been aware of the dangers to which passengers on board the *Lusitania* were exposed under the circumstances. In taking them on board in spite of this the company quite deliberately tried to use the lives of American citizens as protection for the ammunition carried, and violated the clear provisions of American laws which expressly prohibit, and provide punishment for, the carrying of passengers on ships which have explosives on board. The company thereby wantonly caused the death of so many passengers. According to the express report of the submarine commander concerned, which is further confirmed by all other reports, there can be no doubt that the rapid sinking of the *Lusitania* was primarily due to the explosion of the cargo of ammunition caused by the torpedo. Otherwise, in all human probability, the passengers of the *Lusitania* would have been saved.

"The Imperial Government holds the facts recited above to be of sufficient importance to recommend them to a careful examination by the American Government. The Im-

perial Government begs to reserve a final statement of its position with regard to the demands made in connection with the sinking of the *Lusitania* until a reply is received from the American Government, and believes that it should recall here that it took note with satisfaction of the proposals of good offices submitted by the American Government in Berlin and London with a view to paving the way for a *modus vivendi* for the conduct of maritime war between Germany and Great Britain. The Imperial Government furnished at that time ample evidence of its good will by its willingness to consider these proposals. The realization of these proposals failed, as is known, on account of their rejection by the Government of Great Britain.

"The undersigned requests His Excellency, the Ambassador, to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government, and avails himself of the opportunity to renew, etc."

VON JAGOW

This was followed June 1 by a brief note explaining the Cushing and Gulfight attacks as mistakes on the part of the German aviator and submarine commander, and offering reparation as the facts might warrant.

UNITED STATES DENIES LUSITANIA WAS ARMED

IN A note June 9, 1915, the Secretary of State accepted the Cushing and Gulfight explanations, and offered to cooperate in fixing compensation. The assertion that the *Falaba* sought to flee is met; and he denies that the *Lusitania* was armed. It reasserts the rights of neutrals to safety on the seas regardless of war zones, and declares the rights of humanity to be above those of property or privileges of commerce. The portion concerning *Falaba* and the *Lusitania* follows:

"With regard to the sinking of the steamer *Falaba*, by which an American citizen lost his life, the Government

of the United States is surprised to find the Imperial German Government contending that an effort on the part of a merchantman to escape capture and secure assistance alters the obligation of the officer seeking to make the capture in respect to the safety of the lives of those on board the merchantman, although the vessel has ceased her attempt to escape when torpedoed. These are not new circumstances. They have been in the minds of statesmen and of international jurists throughout the development of naval warfare, and the Government of the United States does not understand that they have ever been held to alter the principles of humanity upon which it has insisted. Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives of her passengers or crew. The Government of the United States, however, does not understand that the Imperial German Government is seeking in this case to relieve itself of liability, but only intends to set forth the circumstances which led the commander of the submarine to allow himself to be hurried into the course which he took.

“Your Excellency’s note, in discussing the loss of American lives resulting from the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, adverts at some length to certain information which the Imperial German Government has received with regard to the character and outfit of that vessel, and Your Excellency expresses the fear that this information may not have been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States. It is stated in the note that the *Lusitania* was undoubtedly equipped with masked guns, supplied with trained gunners and special ammunition, transporting troops from Canada, carrying a cargo not permitted under the laws of the United States to a vessel also carrying passengers, and serving, in virtual effect, as an auxiliary to the naval forces of Great Britain. Fortunately, these are matters concerning which the Government of the United States is in a position to give the Imperial German Government official information. Of the facts alleged in Your Excel-

lency's note, if true, the Government of the United States would have been bound to take official cognizance in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power and in enforcing its national laws. It was its duty to see to it that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action, that she was not serving as a transport, that she did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States, and that, if in fact she was a naval vessel of Great Britain, she should not receive clearance as a merchantman; and it performed that duty and enforced its statutes with scrupulous vigilance through its regularly constituted officials. It is able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed. If the Imperial German Government should deem itself to be in possession of convincing evidence that the officials of the Government of the United States did not perform these duties with thoroughness, the Government of the United States sincerely hopes that it will submit that evidence for consideration.

"Whatever may be the contentions of the Imperial German Government regarding the carriage of contraband of war on board the *Lusitania* or regarding the explosion of that material by the torpedo, it need only be said that in the view of this Government these contentions are irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel.

"But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in cir-

cumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting and which no Government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy. This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on August 3, 1914, by the Imperial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied, as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

“The Government of the United States is happy to observe that Your Excellency’s note closes with the intimation that the Imperial German Government is willing, now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the Government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The Government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either Government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey and cordially in-

vites the Imperial German Government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests or in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

"In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war, and whatever may in the opinion of the Imperial German Government have been the provocation or the circumstantial justification for the past acts of its commanders at sea, the Government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and humanity of the Government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

"The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the Imperial German Government on the 15th of May, and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recognized understandings of international law, and the ancient friendship of the German nation.

"The Government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of noncombatants can not lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag. The Government of the United States therefore deems it reason-

able to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done."

ROBERT LANSING
Secretary of State ad Interim

GERMANY'S POSITION REGARDING THE LUSITANIA

THE response of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs to the above note was dated July 8, 1915.

It expressed endorsement of the principles of humanity expressed by the American Government, declared that they had been cherished by the German Government since the treaty of friendship negotiated with the United States in 1785; cited the willingness of Germany to reaffirm the Declaration of London for the protection of neutrals at the outset of the war. It charged the enemies of Germany with an effort to starve out that country by interrupting peaceful traffic, and reiterated that submarine warfare was Germany's only means of salvation under the circumstances. It declared that with every regard for the rights of neutrals, its first and sacred duty was to safeguard the lives of German subjects. Citing the Lusitania affair, it outlined the German idea of a method of protecting neutrals in future. The German note continues:

THE CASE OF THE LUSITANIA

"THE case of the Lusitania shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads. In most direct contradiction of international law, all distinctions between merchantmen and war vessels have been obliterated by the order to British merchantmen to arm themselves and to ram submarines and the promise of rewards therefor; and neutrals who use merchantmen as travelers have there-

by been exposed in an increasing degree to all the dangers of war. If the commander of the German submarine which destroyed the Lusitania had caused the crew and travelers to put out in boats before firing the torpedo this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel. After the experiences in the sinking of much smaller and less seaworthy vessels, it was to be expected that a mighty ship like the Lusitania would remain above water long enough, even after the torpedoing, to permit the passengers to enter the ship's boats. Circumstances of a very peculiar kind, especially the presence on board of large quantities of highly explosive materials, defeated this expectation. In addition, it may be pointed out that if the Lusitania had been spared thousands of cases of ammunition would have been sent to Germany's enemies and thereby thousands of German mothers and children robbed of their supporters.

"In the spirit of friendship with which the German nation has been imbued toward the Union and its inhabitants since the earliest days of its existence, the Imperial Government will always be ready to do all it can, during the present war also, to prevent the jeopardizing of the lives of American citizens.

"The Imperial Government therefore repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping, and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

"In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war on the part of Germany's adversaries, the German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance. The Imperial Government, however, confidently hopes that the American Government will assume the guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board. The details of the arrangements for the unhampered passage of these vessels would have to be agreed upon by the naval authorities of both sides.

"In order to furnish adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic Ocean for American citizens, the German Government submits for consideration a proposal to increase the number of available steamers by installing in the passenger service a reasonable number of neutral steamers, the exact number to be agreed upon, under the American flag under the same conditions as the American steamers above mentioned.

"The Imperial Government believes that it can assume that in this manner adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic Ocean can be afforded American citizens. There would therefore appear to be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in time of war on ships carrying an enemy flag. In particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board. Germany merely followed England's example when it declared part of the high seas an area of war. Consequently accidents suffered by neutrals on enemy ships in this area of war can not well be judged differently from accidents to which neutrals are at all times exposed at the seat of war on land when they betake themselves into dangerous localities in spite of previous warning.

"If, however, it should not be possible for the American Government to acquire an adequate number of neutral passenger steamers, the Imperial Government is prepared to interpose no objections to the placing under the American flag by the American Government of four enemy passenger steamers for the passenger traffic between America and England. The assurances of 'free and safe' passage for American passenger steamers would then be extended to apply under the identical pre-conditions to these formerly hostile passenger ships.

"The President of the United States has declared his readiness, in a way deserving of thanks, to communicate and suggest proposals to the Government of Great Britain with particular reference to the alteration of maritime war. The Imperial Government will always be glad to make use of

the good offices of the President, and hopes that his efforts in the present case, as well as in the direction of the lofty ideal of the freedom of the seas, will lead to an understanding.

"The undersigned requests the Ambassador to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government, and avail himself of the opportunity to renew to His Excellency the assurance of his most distinguished consideration."

VON JAGOW

THE UNITED STATES' REPLY TO
GERMAN LUSITANIA NOTE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, July 21, 1915

"THE note of the Imperial German Government, dated the 8th of July, 1915, has received the careful consideration of the Government of the United States, and it regrets to be obliged to say that it has found it very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real differences between the two Governments and indicates no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied in the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles which virtually set them aside.

"The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction that the Imperial German Government recognizes without reservation the validity of the principles insisted on in the several communications which this Government has addressed to the Imperial German Government with regard to its announcement of a war zone and the use of submarines against merchantmen on the high seas—the principle that the high seas are free, that the character and cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of non-combatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination; for a belligerent act of retaliation is

per se an act beyond the law, and the defense of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal.

“The Government of the United States is, however, keenly disappointed to find that the Imperial German Government regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles, even where neutral vessels are concerned, by what it believes the policy and practice of the Government of Great Britain to be in the present war with regard to neutral commerce. The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the Government of the United States cannot discuss the policy of the Government of Great Britain with regard to neutral trade except with that Government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent Governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this Government regards as grave and unjustifiable violations of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders. Illegal and inhuman acts, however justifiable they may be thought to be against an enemy who is believed to have acted in contravention of law and humanity, are manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights, particularly when they violate the right to life itself. If a belligerent can not retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity as well as justice, and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in, it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offense against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected.

“The Government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstance and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world can not have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it can not consent to abate any essential or fundamental right

of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstance. The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them.

"The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German Navy within the so-called war zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare. The whole world has looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused and remove the chief causes of offense.

"In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defense of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the Government of the United States can not believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the *Lusitania* or from offering reparation for the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for a needless destruction of human life by an illegal act.

"The Government of the United States, while not indifferent to the friendly spirit in which it is made, can not accept the suggestion of the Imperial German Government that certain vessels be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends and which in times of calmer counsels every nation would concede as of course.

"The Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great

object, have long stood together in urging the very principles upon which the Government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They are both contending for the freedom of the seas. The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom, from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost. It invites the practical coöperation of the Imperial German Government at this time when coöperation may accomplish most and this great common object be most strikingly and effectively achieved.

“The Imperial German Government expresses the hope that this object may be in some measure accomplished even before the present war ends. It can be. The Government of the United States not only feels obliged to insist upon it, by whomsoever violated or ignored, in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way.

“In the meantime the very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.”

LANSING

GERMANY DEFINES
COURSE OF ACTION
TOWARD NEUTRAL VESSELS

TWO days after the sinking of the *Lusitania* and before the American note of protest was dispatched, the Ger-

man foreign office sent the following, offering to modify its submarine and airship policy for the benefit of neutrals:

- "1. Imperial German Government has naturally no intention of causing to be attacked by submarines or aircraft such neutral ships of commerce in the zone of naval warfare, more definitely described in the notice of the German Admiralty Staff of February 4, last, as have been guilty of no hostile act; on the contrary, the most definite instructions have repeatedly been issued to German war vessels to avoid attacks on such ships under all circumstances. Even when such ships have contraband of war on board, they are dealt with by submarines solely according to the rules of international law applying to prize warfare.
- "2. Should a neutral ship, nevertheless, come to harm through German submarines or aircraft on account of an unfortunate (* * *)¹ in the above-mentioned zone of naval warfare, the German Government will unreservedly recognize its responsibility therefor. In such a case it will express its regrets and afford damages without first instituting a prize court action.
- "3. It is the custom of the German Government, as soon as the sinking of a neutral ship in the above-mentioned zone of naval warfare is ascribed to German war vessels, to institute an immediate investigation into the cause. If grounds appear thereby to be given for assuming such a hypothesis, the German Navy places itself in communication with the interested neutral government, so that the latter may also institute an investigation. If the German Government is thereby convinced that the ship has been destroyed by German war vessels, it will not delay in carrying out the provisions of paragraph two, above. In case the German government, contrary to the viewpoint of the neutral government, is not convinced by the result of the investigation, the German Government

¹ Apparent omission.

has already on several occasions declared itself ready to allow the question to be decided by an international investigation commission according to chapter three of the Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the peaceful solution of international disputes."

THE SINKING OF UNITED STATES SHIPS BY SUBMARINES

THE American steamer Nebraskan was attacked by a submarine off Ireland May 25, 1915. The German foreign office sent a communication through Ambassador Gerard July 12, declaring a mistake had been made and offering compensation.

The American ship Leelanaw, Archangel to Belfast, with flax, was sunk off Dundee, Scotland, July 27, by a submarine, which afterward towed the crew in boats ninety miles toward shore. This matter was settled satisfactorily to both Governments.

An attack on the English passenger steamer Orduna, July 9, brought an acknowledgment from Minister von Jagow, September 9, admitting that instructions had been disobeyed by the submarine commander.

The failure to observe the instructions was ascribed to an error which is at any rate comprehensible and the repetition of which appears to be out of the question, in view of the more explicit instructions issued in the meantime.

The British passenger steamer Arabic with Americans among the passengers, was sunk by a German submarine August 19, 1915, 60 miles south of Kinsale, Ireland. Commander Rudolph Schneider of the submarine, reported that he had first stopped another steamer, the Dunsley, and that when the Arabic appeared in sight, he supposed she was about to ram his craft. This story was disputed by the crews and passengers of the Arabic and Dunsley.

GERMAN EMBASSY

Washington, September 1, 1915

"MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

"With reference to our conversation of this morning I beg to inform you that my instructions concerning our answer to your last Lusitania note contains the following passage:

Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

"Although I know that you do not wish to discuss the Lusitania question till the Arabic incident has been definitely and satisfactorily settled, I desire to inform you of the above because this policy of my Government was decided on before the Arabic incident occurred.

"I have no objection to your making any use you may please of the above information. I remain, etc."

J. BERNSTORFF

On October 5, 1915, the German Ambassador wrote the Secretary of State, announcing the disavowal of the sinking of the Arabic, and offering to pay indemnities for the American lives lost. It was again stated that orders had been made so stringent that such a thing could not occur again.

This note was acknowledged October 6, with an expression of gratification on the part of the American Government.

On January 7, 1916, Ambassador Bernstorff presented to the Secretary of State communications from the German Government giving its views on submarine conditions and policies. Especially strict instructions were declared to have been issued regarding warnings and precautions for safety of passengers on steamers in the Mediterranean, with assurance of punishment for commanders who disobeyed instructions and the promise to report every sinking. At the same time, the German Government reiterated that American passengers were being used as a shield to protect contraband British traffic.

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT PROPOSES
INTERNATIONAL SUBMARINE RULES

ON January 18, 1916, and immediately subsequent dates, the American Secretary of State forwarded to the British, French, Russian and Italian Ambassadors, the Belgian Minister and the Japanese Ambassador, an identic note proposing the following rules for the protection of neutral ocean traffic in view of the submarine situation:

- "1. A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belligerent flag and to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity if the vessel is approached by a naval vessel of another belligerent.
- "2. A merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.
- "3. An enemy merchant vessel, when ordered to do so by a belligerent submarine, should immediately stop.
- "4. Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist, and in case it ceases to flee or resist, the attack should discontinue.
- "5. In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel or convoy it into port, the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety."

The note contained this comment:

"If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas and, in case it is found that she is of enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction, to remove to a place of safety all persons on board, it would not seem just or reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

"It would, therefore, appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing

belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited and prevented from carrying any armament whatsoever."

These suggestions were declined in notes from the various powers, dated March 22 and 23. The British note contained the following, which was similarly expressed in the others:

"Great Britain is unable to agree that upon a non-guaranteed German promise, human life may be surrendered defenseless to the mercy of an enemy who, in circumstances of this kind as in many others, has shown himself to be both faithless and lawless.

"At the end of his letter, the Honorable Secretary of State hypothetically considered the possibility of eventual decisions under which armed merchant vessels might be treated as auxiliary cruisers.

"It is His Britannic Majesty's Government's conviction that the realization of such a hypothesis which would materially modify, to Germany's advantage, the statement of views published in this respect by the American Government on September 19, 1914, cannot be given practical consideration by the American authorities."

The United States accepted this attitude with regret.

GERMANY PROTESTS AGAINST ARMED MERCHANTMEN

UNDER date February 14, 1916, Germany sent a communication renewing its charges that British merchant ships had been instructed to arm for offensive warfare on submarines. This was accompanied by a large number of exhibits purporting to have been taken from captured British ships.

THE SUSSEX CASE

UNDER date of March 27, 1916, the United States Government sent a note to Ambassador Gerard that "considerable evidence has been received by the Department to the effect that the steamship Sussex with several American citizens among the passengers was sunk by a submarine torpedo on the 24th instant, and he is directed to inquire immediately of the German Foreign Office whether a submarine belonging to Germany or her allies sunk the Sussex. The Department expects a prompt reply."

Similar inquiries were sent respecting ships upon which Americans were aboard, including the Englishman, a horse transport, March 21; the Manchester Engineer, March 27; the Eagle Point, March 28; the Berwindale, March 16. The reply, transmitted through Ambassador Gerard, April 11, asserted that the Berwindale, Englishman and Eagle Point had been sunk after disobeying an order from the submarine commanders to stop. Further details were asked as to the Manchester Engineer, to which the German Foreign Office replied that, "the data furnished regarding the place and time of the incident do not afford a sufficient clue for the investigation."

With respect to the Sussex, the first German reply professed a lack of certainty. It was stated that "a long black vessel without a flag, with a gray smokestack and a small gray superstructure and with two small masts" was encountered by a German submarine on March 24, about the middle of the English channel, and that the commander of the submarine was convinced she was a mine layer. He therefore torpedoed her. The severity of the resulting explosion led to the conclusion that there were explosives on board. With the note were enclosed two copies of a sketch of the vessel, said to have been drawn by the submarine commander, and two pictures of the Sussex from a London paper. The pictures were entirely dissimilar. The German Foreign Office therefore expressed the opinion that the Sussex might have been the victim of a British mine.

WARNING TO GERMANY
THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
WOULD BE BROKEN OFF

THE second American note on the *Sussex*, forwarded through Ambassador Gerard, April 18, sharply called upon the German Government for a more serious consideration of the rights of the United States, and contained a warning that unless the Imperial German Government abandon its present methods of submarine warfare diplomatic relations would be broken off.

THE NOTE TO
GERMANY ON THE *SUSSEX*

THE following was sent by the Department of State, April 18, 1916, to Ambassador Gerard:

"Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the *Sussex*, and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in Your Excellency's note of the 10th instant. On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:50 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer *Sussex*, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The *Sussex* had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troop ships or supply ships. About 80 of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

"A carefully detailed and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the Government of the United

States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of Your Excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusion is enclosed.

"The Government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the *Sussex* but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelve months and more, in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations. If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had wilfully violated his orders or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government. But, though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

"On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and

more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

"The Imperial Government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks; and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial Government in the circumstances then existing. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

"The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

"In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraints upon them as it had hoped and promised to put. Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

"Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* and mere passenger boats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers and crew have been destroyed wholesale and in

a manner which the Government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has in fact been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

"The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as of course given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

"It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance, but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations."

LANSING

This note was accompanied by a statement of facts and a number of affidavits.

REPLY TO SUSSEX NOTE AND RESTRICTED SUBMARINE WARFARE

IN RESPONSE to the Sussex note the German Foreign Office, on May 4, handed to Ambassador Gerard a note admitting the possibility of the Sussex being torpedoed by a German submarine and the promise of thorough investigation. The dispatch held that errors of this nature cannot be avoided, but while declaring that "it cannot dispense with the use of the submarine weapon in the conduct of warfare against enemy trade," it "has now decided to make further concessions in adapting the methods of submarine warfare to the interests of the neutrals." The note states:

"As matters stand, the German Government cannot but reiterate its regret that the sentiments of humanity which the Government of the United States extends with such fervor to the unhappy victims of submarine warfare are not

extended with the same warmth of feeling to the many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intentions of the British Government, shall be starved and who, by their sufferings, shall force the victorious armies of the Central Powers in ignominious capitulation. The German Government, in agreement with the German people, fails to understand this discrimination, all the more as it has repeatedly and explicitly declared itself ready to use the submarine weapon in strict conformity with the rules of international law as recognized before the outbreak of the war, if Great Britain were likewise ready to adapt her conduct of warfare to these rules. The several attempts made by the Government of the United States to prevail upon the British Government to act accordingly have failed because of the flat refusal on the part of the British Government. Moreover, Great Britain has ever since, again and again violated international law, surpassing all bounds in outraging neutral rights. The latest measure adopted by Great Britain, declaring German bunker coal as contraband and establishing conditions under which alone English bunker coal shall be supplied to neutrals, is nothing but an unheard-of attempt, by way of exaction, to force neutral tonnage into the service of the British trade war.

"The German people knows that the Government of the United States has the power to confine this war to the armed forces of the belligerent countries in the interest of humanity and the maintenance of international law. The Government of the United States would have been certain of attaining this end had it been determined to insist against Great Britain on its incontestable rights to the freedom of the seas. But, as matters stand, the German people is under the impression that the Government of the United States, while demanding that Germany, struggling for her existence, shall restrain the use of an effective weapon, and while making the compliance with these demands a condition for the maintenance of relations with Germany, confines itself to protests against the illegal methods adopted by Germany's enemies. Moreover, the German people

knows to what a considerable extent its enemies are supplied with all kinds of war material from the United States.

"It will therefore be understood that the appeal made by the Government of the United States to the sentiments of humanity and to the principles of international law cannot, under the circumstances, meet with the same hearty response from the German people which such an appeal is otherwise always certain to find here. If the German Government, nevertheless, has resolved to go to the utmost limit of concessions, it has not alone been guided by the friendship connecting the two great nations for over a hundred years, but it also has thought of the great doom which threatens the entire civilized world should this cruel and sanguinary war be extended and prolonged.

"The German Government, conscious of Germany's strength, has twice within the last few months announced before the world its readiness to make peace on a basis safeguarding Germany's vital interests, thus indicating that it is not Germany's fault if peace is still withheld from the nations of Europe.

"The German Government feels all the more justified to declare that the responsibility could not be borne before the forum of mankind and history if, after 21 months' duration of the war, the submarine question under discussion between the German Government and the Government of the United States were to take a turn seriously threatening the maintenance of peace between the two nations.

"As far as it lies with the German Government, it wishes to prevent things from taking such a course. The German Government, moreover, is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, as principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accord-

ance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

"But neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it is violated.

"Accordingly, the German Government is confident that, in consequence of the new orders issued to its naval forces, the Government of the United States will now also consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual coöperation toward the restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war as they are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government on December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915. Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve itself complete liberty of decision."

VON JAGOW

In acknowledging this note the American Government accepted the assurances of Germany as an abandonment of its ruthless submarine policy. In Mr. Lansing's note of May 8, 1916, he said:

"Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government, such as will remove the principal danger to an interruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany."

THE ALLIES PROTEST AGAINST MERCHANT SUBMARINES

UNDER date of August 21, 1916, and shortly following, the French, British, Russian, Japanese and Italian Governments sent communications to the United States Government holding that in view of the peculiar nature of submarines they must be excluded from the rules heretofore accepted in international law regarding the admission and sojourn of war and merchant vessels in neutral waters; and that any belligerent submarine, entering neutral waters, must be held there. A warning was issued to neutral powers of great danger to neutral submarines in waters visited by the submarines of belligerents. The American Secretary of State issued an identic note in reply, under date August 31, 1916, asserting the right of the American Government to reserve liberty of action in respect to either armed or merchant submarines, and insisting that belligerent powers must distinguish between neutral and belligerent submarines.

PEACE PROPOSALS

WITHOUT previous announcement, Germany and her allies issued an identic note December 12, 1916, offering to enter into negotiations for peace. The note was addressed by the German Government as spokesman for itself, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, to the United States, Spain and Switzerland, for transmission to the hostile governments. It read as follows:

"The most terrific war ever experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization were unable to prevent, and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity. Our aims are not to shatter or annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) until the bitter end, if necessary; at the same time prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied Powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

"The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence, of the honor, and liberty of evolution for their nations are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

"The four allied Powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

"The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-

Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle. They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines stand unshaken against ever-repeated attempts made by armies.

"The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectations of further successes.

"If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied Powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history.

"The Imperial Government, through the good offices of your Excellency, ask the Government of (here is inserted the name of the neutral Power addressed in each instance) to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of (here are inserted the names of the belligerents)."

At the time the German peace conference proposal was made, President Wilson had under consideration a proposition to bring the belligerent nations into an exchange of declarations of purposes and terms. This was made known to the parties interested, December 18, through identic notes to the Central Powers and identic notes of almost similar wording, sent to the Entente Allies.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PEACE NOTE

(Sent to All the Belligerent Powers)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, December 18, 1916

"THE President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

"The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the Imperial German Government a course of action with regard to the present war which he hopes that the Imperial Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

"The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has in fact been in no way suggested by them in its origin and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

"The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

"He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that

the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful states now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this, and against aggression of selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amidst multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

“In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world, the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to coöperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

"The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted, if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer, if resentments must be kindled that never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

"The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitely stated.

"The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success even, would bring the war to an end.

"It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

"The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world."

LANSING

LLOYD GEORGE'S ADDRESS ON THE GERMAN PROPOSAL

THE attitude of the Allies toward the German proposal was expressed in an address by Premier Lloyd George in the British House of Commons December 19, in which he said:

"I appear before the House of Commons today with the most terrible responsibility that can fall upon the shoulders of any living man as chief adviser of the Crown in the most gigantic war in which this country was ever engaged, a war upon the events of which its destiny depends. It is the greatest war ever waged; the burdens are the heaviest that have been cast upon this or any other country and the issues the gravest that have been attached to any conflict in which humanity was ever involved.

"The responsibilities of the new Government have been suddenly accentuated by the declaration made by the German Chancellor. The statement made by him in the Reichstag has been followed by a note presented by the United States without note or comment. The answer given by this Government will be given in full accord with all our allies.

"Naturally there has been an interchange of views, not upon the note, because it has only recently arrived, but upon the speech which impelled it, and as the note itself is

practically only a reproduction or a paraphrase of the speech, the subject matter of the note itself has been discussed informally between the Allies. I am glad to be able to state that we each separately and independently arrived at identical conclusions.

"I am very glad that the first answer given to the statement of the German Chancellor was given by France and Russia. They have the unquestionable right to give the first answer to such an invitation. The enemy is still on their soil and their sacrifices have been the greater.

"The answer they have given has already appeared in the papers, and I simply stand here to give clear and definite support to the statement they have already made.

"Any man or set of men who, with or without sufficient cause, want prolonged a terrible conflict like this would have on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse.

"On the other hand it is equally true that any man or set of men who from a sense of weariness or despair abandoned the struggle without achieving the high purposes for which we entered it would be guilty of the costliest act of poltroonery ever perpetrated by any statesman. I should like to quote the words of Abraham Lincoln under similar conditions:

"We accepted this war for an object and a world object, and the war will end when the object is attained under God. I hope it will never end until that time."

"Are we likely to achieve the object by accepting the invitation of the German Chancellor? What are the proposals? There are none.

"To enter, on the invitation of Germany, proclaiming herself victorious, without any knowledge of what proposals she proposes to make, into a conference is to put our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of Germany.

"This country is not altogether without experience in these matters. This is not the first time we have fought a great military despotism overshadowing Europe, and it won't be the first time we have helped to overthrow a military despotism.

"We have an uncomfortable historical memory of these things and can recall one of the greatest of these despots, whose favorite device was to appear in the garb of an angel of peace, either when he wished time to assimilate his conquests or to reorganize his forces for fresh conquests; or, secondly, when his subjects showed symptoms of fatigue and war weariness an appeal was always made in the name of humanity. He demanded an end to the bloodshed at which he professed himself horrified, although he himself was mainly responsible.

"Our ancestors were taken in once, and bitterly they and Europe rue it. The time was devoted to reorganizing his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe.

"Examples of this kind cause us to regard this note with a considerable measure of reminiscent disquietude.

"We feel that we ought to know, before we can give favorable consideration to such an invitation, that Germany is prepared to accede to the only terms on which it is possible peace can be obtained and maintained in Europe. Those terms have been repeatedly stated by all the leading statesmen of the Allies. They have been stated repeatedly here and outside. To quote the leader of the House last week:

"'Reparation and guarantee against repetition, so there shall be no mistake, and it is important that there should be no mistake in a matter of life or death to millions.'

"Let me repeat—complete restitution, full reparation and effectual guarantees.

"Did the German Chancellor use a single phrase to indicate that he was prepared to accept such a peace? Was there a hint of restitution? Was there a suggestion of reparation? Was there an implication of any security for the future that this outrage on civilization would not again be perpetrated at the first profitable opportunity?

A DENIAL OF PEACE

"THE very substance and style of the speech constitutes a denial of peace on the only terms on which peace is possible. He is not even conscious now that Germany

has committed any offense against the rights of free nations. Listen to this from the note:

"Not for an instant have they (the Central Powers) swerved from the conviction that respect of the rights of other nations is not in any degree incompatible with their own rights and legitimate interests."

"When did they discover this? Where was respect for the rights of other nations in Belgium and Serbia? That was self-defense, menace, I suppose, by the overwhelming armies of Belgium. I suppose the Germans had been intimidated into invading Belgium and burning Belgian cities and villages, into massacring thousands of the inhabitants, old and young, into carrying off the survivors into bondage. Yes, and they were carrying them into slavery at the very moment when this note was being written about their unswerving conviction as to the respect due the rights of other nations.

"Are these outrages the legitimate interest of Germany? We must know. That is not a moment for peace. If excuses of this kind for palpable crimes can be put forward two and a half years after exposure by the grim facts, is there any guarantee that similar subterfuges will not be used in the future to overthrow any treaty of peace you may enter into with Prussian militarism?

"The note and speech prove that they have not yet learned the alphabet of respect for the rights of others.

"Without reparation peace is impossible. Are all these outrages against humanity on land and sea to be liquidated by a few pious phrases about humanity? Germany leaves us to exact the damage for all future violence committed after the war. We must exact it now so as not to leave such a grim inheritance to our children.

"Much as we all long for peace, deeply as we are horrified with war, this note and speech which heralded it do not afford us much encouragement to hope for an honorable and lasting peace.

"What hope is given in the speech that the whole root and cause of this great bitterness, the arrogant spirit of the

Prussian military caste, will not be as dominant as ever if we patch up peace now? The very speech in which these peace suggestions are made resounds to the boast of Prussian military triumph. It is a long pæan over the victory of von Hindenburg.

"We must keep a steadfast eye upon the purpose for which we entered the war; otherwise the great sacrifices we have been making will be in vain. The German note states that it was for the defense of their existence and the freedom of national development that the Central Powers were constrained to take up arms. Such phrases are intended to delude the German nation into supporting the designs of the Prussian military caste, who ever wished to put an end to their national existence or freedom of development. We welcomed their development so long as it was on the paths of peace.

"The Allies entered this war to defend Europe against the aggression of Prussian military domination, and, having begun it, they must insist that the only end is the most complete effective guarantee against the possibility of that caste ever again disturbing the peace of Europe.

"Prussia, since she got into the hands of that caste, has been a bad neighbor, arrogant, threatening, bullying, shifting her boundaries at her will, and taking one fair field after another from her weaker neighbors and adding them to her own dominions.

"With her belt ostentatiously full of weapons of offense and ready at a moment's notice to use them, she has always been an unpleasant, disturbing neighbor in Europe. She got thoroughly on the nerves of Europe. There was no peace near where she dwelt. It is difficult for those who are fortunate enough to live thousands of miles away to understand what it has meant to those who live near.

"Even here, with the protection of the broad seas between us, we know what a disturbing factor the Prussians were with their constant naval menace. But we can hardly realize what it meant to France and Russia. Several times there were threats directed against them even within

the lifetime of this generation, which presented the alternative of war or humiliation. There were many of us who hoped that the internal influence in Germany would be strong enough to check and ultimately to eliminate it.

"Now that this great war has been forced by the Prussian leaders, it would be folly not to see to it that this swash-buckling through the streets of Europe and this disturbance of peaceful citizens was dealt with here and now as the most serious offense against the law of nations.

"We will wait until we hear what terms and guarantees the German Government offer other than those, better than those, surer than those which she so lightly broke. And meanwhile we shall put our trust in our unbroken army rather than in broken faith.

"For the moment I do not think it would be advisable for me to add anything upon this particular invitation. A formal reply will be delivered by the Allies in the course of the next few days."

FORMAL REPLY OF ALLIES

THE formal joint reply of the Allies rejecting the German peace conference overtures of December 12 was handed to Ambassador Sharp in Paris, December 30, and by him transmitted to the Secretary of State. It follows:

"The Allied Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, Russia and Serbia, united for the defense of the liberty of their peoples and faithful to engagements taken not to lay down their arms separately, have resolved to reply collectively to the pretended propositions of peace which were addressed to them on behalf of the enemy Governments through the intermediary of the United States, Spain, Switzerland and Holland.

"Before making any reply the Allied Powers desire particularly to protest against the two essential assertions of the notes of the enemy Powers that pretend to throw upon the Allies responsibility for the war and proclaim the victory of the Central Powers.

"The Allied Governments cannot admit an affirmation doubly inexact and which suffices to render sterile all tentative negotiations.

"The Allied Nations have sustained for thirty months a war they did everything to avoid. They have shown by their acts their attachment to peace. That attachment is as strong today as it was in 1914. But it is not upon the word of Germany after the violation of its engagements that the peace broken by her may be based.

"A mere suggestion without a statement of terms that negotiations should be opened is not an offer of peace. The putting forward by the Imperial Government of a sham proposal lacking all substance and precision would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war manœuvre. It is founded on calculated misinterpretation of the character of the struggle in the past, the present and the future.

"As for the past, the German note takes no account of the facts, dates and figures which establish that the war was desired, provoked and declared by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

"At the Hague conference it was a German delegate who refused all proposals for disarmament. In July 1914, it was Austria-Hungary who, after having addressed to Serbia an unprecedented ultimatum, declared war upon her in spite of the satisfaction which had at once been accorded.

"The Central Empires then rejected all attempts made by the Entente to bring about a pacific solution of a purely local conflict. Great Britain suggested a conference, France proposed an international commission, the Emperor of Russia asked the German Emperor to go to arbitration, and Russia and Austria-Hungary came to an understanding on the eve of the conflict. But to all these efforts Germany gave neither answer nor effect.

"Belgium was invaded by an empire which had guaranteed her neutrality and which had the assurance to proclaim that treaties were 'scraps of paper' and that 'necessity knows no law.'

"At the present moment these sham offers on the part

of Germany rest on the war map of Europe alone, which represents nothing more than a superficial and passing phase of the situation and not the real strength of the belligerents. A peace concluded upon these terms would be only to the advantage of the aggressors, who after imagining that they would reach their goal in two months discovered after two years that they could never attain it.

"As for the future, the disasters caused by the German declaration of war and the innumerable outrages committed by Germany and her allies against both belligerents and neutrals demand penalties, reparation and guarantees. Germany avoids mention of any of these.

"In reality these overtures made by the Central Powers are nothing more than a calculated attempt to influence the future course of the war and to end it by imposing a German peace. The object of these overtures is to create dissension in public opinion in the allied countries. But that public opinion has in spite of all the sacrifices endured by the Allies already given its answer with admirable firmness and has denounced the empty pretence of the declaration of the enemy Powers.

"They have the further object of stiffening public opinion in Germany and in the countries allied to her, one and all severely tried by their losses, worn out by economic pressure and crushed by the supreme effort which has been imposed upon their inhabitants.

"They endeavor to deceive and intimidate public opinion in neutral countries whose inhabitants have long since made up their minds where the initial responsibilities lie and are far too enlightened to favor the designs of Germany by abandoning the defense of human freedom.

"Finally these overtures attempt to justify in advance in the eyes of the world a new series of crimes—submarine warfare, deportations, forced labor and forced enlistment of the inhabitants against their own countries, and violations of neutrality.

"Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the Allied Govern-

ments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere. Once again the Allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities and of the free existence of small states; so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations and to afford the only effective guarantee for the future security of the world.

"In conclusion, the Allied Powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war:

"In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European Powers, of whom Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guarantee of the Powers, outside all European conflicts. She was, however, in spite of these treaties the first to suffer the aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian Government thinks it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the Entente Powers for right and justice.

"Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality, violated by Germany, and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

"On the 4th of August, 1914, in the Reichstag the German Chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice contrary to the laws of nations and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it. During two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages and have been

responsible for innumerable massacres, executions and imprisonments.

"At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

"Belgium before the war asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her King and her Government have but one aim—the re-establishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, guarantees and safeguards for the future."

The Central Powers responded on and shortly after December 26, with an offer to enter into such a conference as proposed by President Wilson for the exchange of views, if it could be arranged.

The answer of the Entente Allies, communicated by the American Ambassador to Paris under date of January 10, 1917, follows:

THE ALLIES' REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE NOTE

"THE Allied Governments have received the note which was delivered to them in the name of the Government of the United States on the nineteenth of December, 1916. They have studied it with the care imposed upon them both by the exact realization which they have of the gravity of the hour and by the sincere friendship which attaches them to the American people.

"In general way they wish to declare that they pay tribute to the elevation of the sentiment with which the American note is inspired and that they associate themselves with all their hopes with the project for the creation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the advantages for the cause of humanity and civilization which the institution of international agreements, destined to avoid violent conflicts between nations, would prevent; agreements which must imply the

sanctions necessary to insure their execution and thus to prevent an apparent security from only facilitating new aggressions. But a discussion of future arrangements destined to insure an enduring peace presupposes a satisfactory settlement of the actual conflict; the Allies have as profound a desire as the Government of the United States to terminate as soon as possible a war for which the Central Empires are responsible and which inflicts such cruel sufferings upon humanity. But they believe that it is impossible at the present moment to attain a peace which will assure them reparation, restitution and such guarantees to which they are entitled by the aggression for which the responsibility rests with the Central Powers and of which the principle itself tended to ruin the security of Europe; a peace which would on the other hand permit the establishment of the future of European nations on a solid basis. The Allied nations are conscious that they are not fighting for selfish interests, but above all to safeguard the independence of peoples, of right and of humanity.

“The Allies are fully aware of the losses and suffering which the war causes to neutrals as well as to belligerents, and they deplore them; but they do not hold themselves responsible for them, having in no way either willed or provoked this war, and they strive to reduce these damages in the measure compatible with the inexorable exigencies of their defense against the violence and the wiles of the enemy.

“It is with satisfaction therefore that they take note of the declaration that the American communication is in no wise associated in its origin with that of the Central Powers, transmitted on the eighteenth of December by the Government of the United States. They did not doubt moreover, the resolution of that Government to avoid even the appearance of a support, even moral, of the authors responsible for the war.

“The Allied Governments believe that they must protest in the most friendly but in the most specific manner against the assimilation established in the American note

between the two groups of belligerents; this assimilation, based upon public declarations by the Central Powers, is in direct opposition to the evidence, both as regards responsibility for the past and as concerns guarantees for the future; President Wilson in mentioning it certainly had no intention of associating himself with it.

"If there is an historical fact established at the present date, it is the wilful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. Germany proved, by her declaration of war, by the immediate violation of Belgium and Luxemburg, and by her manner of conducting the war, her simulating contempt for all principles of humanity and all respect for small states; as the conflict developed the attitude of the Central Powers and their Allies has been a continual defiance of humanity and civilization. Is it necessary to recall the horrors which accompanied the invasion of Belgium and of Serbia, the atrocious regime imposed upon the invaded countries, the massacre of hundreds of thousands of inoffensive Armenians, the barbarities perpetrated against the populations of Syria, the raids of Zeppelins on open towns, the destruction by submarines of passenger steamers and of merchantmen even under neutral flags, the cruel treatment inflicted upon prisoners of war, the juridical murders of Miss Cavell, of Captain Fryatt, the deportation and the reduction to slavery of civil populations, et cetera? The execution of such a series of crimes perpetrated without any regard for universal reprobation fully explains to President Wilson the protest of the Allies.

"They consider that the note which they sent to the United States in reply to the German note will be a response to the questions put by the American Government, and, according to the exact words of the latter, constitute 'a public declaration as to the conditions upon which the war could be terminated.'

"President Wilson desires more; he desires that the belligerent powers openly affirm the objects which they seek by continuing the war; the Allies experience no difficulty in re-

plying to this request. Their objects in the war are well known; they have been formulated on many occasions by the chiefs of their divers Governments. Their objects in the war will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensations and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations. But the civilized world knows that they imply in all necessity and in the first instance the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, of Russia and of Rumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable regime and founded as much upon respect of nationalities and full security and liberty, economic development, which all nations, great or small, possess, as upon territorial conventions and international agreements suitable to guarantee territorial and maritime frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations, the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Rumanians and of Tchecho Slovaques from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire decidedly (* * *)¹ to western civilization. The intentions of His Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, regarding Poland have been clearly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies. It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism, it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligation with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

“United in the pursuits of this supreme object, the Allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with

¹ Apparent omission.

all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which they are convinced not only their own safety and prosperity depends, but also the future of civilization itself."

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL FOR A LEAGUE FOR PEACE

FOLLOWING the receipt of the replies to his peace note President Wilson, on January 22, 1917, addressed the United States Senate, as the treaty-making body of the Government, submitting certain conditions on which this Government would feel justified in approving its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. He set forth that after the war it would be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations. After summarizing the replies of the various powers to his note, he said, in part:

"They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

"The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference

between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

“And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own. * * *

“So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement, no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

“And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and coöperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be

necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

"It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the coöperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitations of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind."

GERMANY WITHDRAWS HER SUBMARINE PLEDGE

ON JANUARY 31, 1917, the German Ambassador handed to the American Secretary of State a note withdrawing forthwith the pledge made after the Sussex affair, which pledge promised that merchant ships should

not be sunk without warning and that neutral lives and property should be protected. The German note read:

"MR. SECRETARY OF STATE:

"Your Excellency was good enough to transmit to the Imperial Government a copy of the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the Senate on the 22nd inst. The Imperial Government has given it the earnest consideration which the President's statements deserve, inspired, as they are, by a deep sentiment of responsibility.

"It is highly gratifying to the Imperial Government to ascertain that the main tendencies of this important statement correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany. These principles especially include self-government and equality of rights for all nations. Germany would be sincerely glad if in recognition of this principle, countries like Ireland and India, which do not enjoy the benefits of political independence, should now obtain their freedom.

"The German people also repudiate all alliances which serve to force the countries into a competition for might and to involve them in a net of selfish intrigues. On the other hand, Germany will gladly coöperate in all efforts to prevent future wars.

"The freedom of the seas, being a preliminary condition of the free existence of nations and the peaceful intercourse between them, as well as the open door for the commerce of all nations, has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political program. All the more the Imperial Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies, who are so entirely opposed to peace, makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals.

"Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace, and had set down as basis the guarantee of existence, honor, and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note

of December 12th, 1916, were not directed toward the destruction or annihilation of their enemies and were, according to their conviction, perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations. As to Belgium, for which such warm and cordial sympathy is felt in the United States, the Chancellor had declared only a few weeks previously that its annexation had never formed part of Germany's intentions. The peace to be signed with Belgium was to provide for such conditions in that country, with which Germany desires to maintain friendly neighborly relations, that Belgium should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues. Such precautionary measures are all the more necessary, as Germany's enemies have repeatedly stated, not only in speeches delivered by their leading men, but also in the statutes of the Economical Conference in Paris, that it is their intention not to treat Germany as an equal, even after peace has been restored, but to continue their hostile attitude and especially to wage a systematical economic war against her.

"The attempt of the four Allied Powers to bring about peace has failed, owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretence of following the principle of nationality, our enemies have disclosed their real aims in this way, viz: To dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end.

"A new situation has thus been created which forces Germany to new decisions. Since two years and a half England is using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation. In brutal contempt of international law, the group of powers led by England does not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents, but they also, by ruthless pressure, compel neutral countries either to altogether forego every trade not agreeable to the Entente Powers or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees.

"The American Government knows the steps which have been taken to cause England and her allies to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas. The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged, to suffer for their country pains and privations which endanger the vitality of the nation. Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world, indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the lives of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

"The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States, the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. After the attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente Powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government, in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people, is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

"Sincerely trusting that the people and the Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality, and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life.

"Enclosing two memoranda regarding the details of the contemplated military measures at sea, I remain, etc."

J. BERNSTORFF

This note was accompanied by a memorandum stating the extent and terms of the submarine blockade. The area included the coasts of the British Isles, France, Belgium, part of Holland, the North coast of Spain, and all of the Mediterranean Sea east from the boundary of France and Spain. A lane of safety was granted for one American ship a week to Falmouth, England, and a similar lane twenty miles wide was left near the south coast of the Mediterranean for vessels bound for Greece.

THE UNITED STATES BREAKS WITH GERMANY

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1917, President Wilson directed that passports be handed to German Ambassador Bernstorff and that Ambassador Gerard be recalled from Berlin. His action in severing relations with Germany was announced in the following address before Congress:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

"THE Imperial German Government on the 31st of January announced to this Government and to the Governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas, to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

"Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking, on the 24th of March, of the cross-channel passenger steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government, in which it made the following declaration:

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that

there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

QUOTES REASSURANCE
FROM GERMANY

“IN REPLY to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operation of war, for the rest of its duration, to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes now, as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

But, it added, neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government

is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.

AMERICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF TERMS

“TO THIS the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding:

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th inst. might appear to be susceptible of that construction.

In order, however, to avoid any misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way, or in the slightest degree, be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non combatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

“To this note of the 8th of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

CLAUSE THAT
SEVERED RELATIONS

“ON THE 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contained the following statement:

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after Feb. 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.

“I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course, which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

“I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency, the German Ambassador, that

all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to His Excellency his passports.

“Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do, in fact, what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do.

“I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own, or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the wilful prosecution of the ruthless naval programme they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

“If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should, in fact, be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

“We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them.

“We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless

and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life.

“These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!”

American interests in Germany were entrusted to the Spanish Ambassador and German interests in America to the Minister for Switzerland.

THE PRESIDENT
REFUSES OVERTURES FROM
GERMANY TO PARLEY

ON FEBRUARY 11, 1917, a suggestion was made orally to the Department of State by the Minister of Switzerland that the German Government was willing to negotiate with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England would not be interfered with. On request, the suggestion was made in writing and delivered on the following evening, as follows:

“The Swiss Government has been requested by the German Government to say that the latter is, now as before, willing to negotiate, formally or informally, with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England will not be broken thereby.”

P. RITTER

The following reply was dispatched:

“MY DEAR MR. MINISTER: I am requested by the President to say to you, in acknowledging the memorandum which you were kind enough to send me on the 11th inst., that the Government of the United States would gladly discuss with the German Government any

questions it might propose for discussion, were it to withdraw its proclamation of the 31st of January, in which, suddenly and without previous intimation of any kind, it canceled the assurances which it had given this Government on the 4th of May last, but that it does not feel that it can enter into any discussion with the German Government concerning the policy of submarine warfare against neutrals which it is now pursuing unless and until the German Government renews its assurances of the 4th of May and acts upon the assurance. I am, my dear Mr. Minister, etc.”

ROBERT LANSING

*His Excellency, Dr. Paul Ritter,
Minister of Switzerland.*

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS
TO CONGRESS ON ARMED NEUTRALITY

February 26, 1917

“GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: I have again asked the privilege of addressing you because we are moving through critical times during which it seems to me to be my duty to keep in close touch with the houses of Congress, so that neither counsel nor action shall run at cross-purposes between us.

“On the 3d of February I officially informed you of the sudden and unexpected action of the Imperial German Government in declaring its intention to disregard the promises it had made to this Government in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals, that should seek to approach Great Britain and Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of Europe or the harbors of the eastern Mediterranean and to conduct those operations without regard to the established restrictions of international practice, without regard to any considerations of humanity even which might interfere with their object.

“That policy was forthwith put into practice. It has now been in active exhibition for nearly four weeks. Its practical

results are not fully disclosed. The commerce of other neutral nations is suffering severely, but not, perhaps, very much more severely than it was already suffering before the 1st of February, when the new policy of the Imperial Government was put into operation.

"We have asked the coöperation of the other neutral Governments to prevent these depredations, but I fear none of them has thought it wise to join us in any common course of action. Our own commerce has suffered, is suffering, rather in apprehension than in fact, rather because so many of our ships are timidly keeping to their home ports than because American ships have been sunk.

"Two American vessels have been sunk, the *Housatonic* and the *Lyman M. Law*. The case of the *Housatonic*, which was carrying foodstuffs consigned to a London firm, was essentially like the case of the *Frye*, in which, it will be recalled, the German Government admitted its liability for damages, and the lives of the crew, as in the case of the *Frye*, were safeguarded with reasonable care.

"The case of the *Law*, which was carrying lemon-box staves to Palermo, disclosed a ruthlessness of method which deserves grave condemnation, but was accompanied by no circumstances which might not have been expected at any time in connection with the use of the submarine against merchantmen as the German Government has used it.

"In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the 3d of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our ship owners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted—a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day.

"This, in itself, might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. We can only say, there-

fore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

“But while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities, which have increased rather than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint, rather than because of the instructions under which those commanders are acting.

“It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time, if we are, in fact and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

“I cannot in such circumstances be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand by constitutional limitation and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress which is to succeed it.

“I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law, by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers; but I prefer in the present circumstances not to act upon general implication. I wish to feel that the authority and the power of the Congress are behind me in whatever it may become necessary for me to do. We are jointly the servants of the people and must act together and in their spirit, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

“No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the

extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise.

"Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to armed neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

"It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed forces anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do.

"I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people, who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace, to follow the pursuit of peace in quietness and good-will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world.

"No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the wilful acts and aggressions of others.

"You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen.

"I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity

and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

"I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought—the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. It is not of material interest merely that we are thinking. It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself.

"I am thinking not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of noncombatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights, but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty.

"I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things."

LLOYD GEORGE'S LINCOLN DAY ADDRESS

IN response to a request by the New York Times Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain issued this Lincoln's Birthday address to the American people, drawing a parallel between the present European struggle and the American Civil War of 1861-1865.

"I am very glad to respond to your request for a message for publication on Lincoln Day. I am glad because to my mind Abraham Lincoln has always been one of the very first of the world's statesmen, because I believe that the battle which we have been fighting is at bottom the same battle which your countrymen fought under Lincoln's leadership more than fifty years ago, and most of all, perhaps, because I desire to say how much I welcome the proof which the last few days have afforded that the American people are coming to realize this, too.

"Lincoln's life was devoted to the cause of human freedom. From the day when he first recognized what slavery meant he bent all his energies to its eradication from American soil. Yet after years of patient effort he was driven to realize that it was not a mere question of abolishing slavery in the Southern States, but that bound up with it was a larger issue: That unless the Union abolished slavery, slavery would break up the Union.

"Faced by this alternative, he did not shrink, after every other method had failed, from vindicating both Union and freedom by the terrible instrument of war. Nor after the die for war had been cast did he hesitate to call upon his countrymen to make sacrifice upon sacrifice, to submit to limitation upon limitation of their personal freedom, until, in his own words, there was a new birth of freedom in your land.

"Is there not a strange similarity between this battle, which we are fighting here in Europe, and that which Lincoln fought? Has there not grown up in this continent a

new form of slavery, a militarist slavery, which has not only been crushing out the freedom of the people under its control, but which in recent years has also been moving toward crushing out freedom and fraternity in all Europe as well?

“Is it not true that it is to the militarist system of Government which centres in Berlin that every open-minded man who is familiar with past history would point as being the ultimate source of all the expansion of armaments, of all the international unrest, and of the failure of all movements toward coöperation and harmony among nations during the last twenty years?

“We were reluctant, and many of us refused to believe that any sane rulers would deliberately drench Europe in its own blood, so we did not face the facts until it was almost too late. It was not until August, 1914, that it became clear to us, as it became clear to Lincoln in 1861, that the issue was not to be settled by pacific means, and that either the machine which controlled the destinies of Germany would destroy the liberty of Europe or the people of Europe must defeat its purpose and its prestige by the supreme sacrifice of war. It was the ultimatum to Serbia and the ruthless attack upon Belgium and France which followed because the nations of Europe would not tolerate the obliteration of the independence of a free people without conference and by the sword, which revealed to us all the implacable nature of the struggle which lay before us.

“It has been difficult for a nation separated from Europe by 3,000 miles of sea and without political connections with its peoples, to appreciate fully what was at stake in the war. In your civil war many of our ancestors were blind. Lord Russell hinted at an early peace. Even Gladstone declared ‘we have no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword.’ It was left for John Bright, that man of all others who most loved peace and hated war, to testify that when our statesmen ‘were hostile or coldly neutral the British people clung to freedom with an unfaltering trust.’ But I think that

America now sees that it is human unity and freedom which are again being fought for in this war.

"The American people under Lincoln fought not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation. We today are fighting not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation—a liberation not of ourselves alone, but of all the world, from that body of barbarous doctrine and inhuman practice which has estranged nations, has held back the unity and progress of the world, and which has stood revealed in all its deadly iniquity in the course of this war.

"In such wars for liberty there can be no compromise. They are either won or lost. In your case it was freedom and unity or slavery and separation; in our case military power, tyrannously used, will have succeeded in tearing up treaties and trampling on the rights of others, or liberty and public right will have prevailed. Therefore we believe that the war must be fought out to a finish, for on such an issue there can be no such thing as a drawn war.

"In holding this conviction we have been inspired and strengthened beyond measure by the example and the words of your great President. Once the conflict had been joined, he did not shrink from bloodshed. I have often been struck at the growth of both tenderness and stern determination in the face of Lincoln, as shown in his photographs, as the war went on.

"Despite his abhorrence of all that war entailed, he persisted in it because he knew that he was sparing life by losing it; that if he agreed to compromise the blood that had been shed on a hundred fields would have been shed in vain; that the task of creating a united nation of free men would only have to be undertaken at even greater cost at some later day. It would, indeed, be impossible to state our faith more clearly than Lincoln stated it himself at the end of 1864.

"'On careful consideration', he said 'of all the evidence, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union, precisely what

we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves; * * * between him and us the issue is distinct, simple and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory.'

"That was the judgment of the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century during the last great war for human liberty. It is the judgment of this nation and of its fellow-nations overseas today.

" 'Our armies,' said Lincoln, 'are ministers of good, not evil.' So we do believe. And through all the carnage and suffering and conflicting motives of the civil war, Lincoln held steadfastly to the belief that it was the freedom of the people to govern themselves which was the fundamental issue at stake. So do we today. For when the people of Central Europe accept the peace which is offered them by the Allies, not only will the allied peoples be free, as they have never been free before, but the German people, too, will find that in losing their dream of an empire over others they have found self-government for themselves."

D. LLOYD GEORGE

AMERICAN MERCHANT SHIPS ARMED

The Department of State sent the following statement to all foreign missions in Washington for their information:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, March 12, 1917

“IN VIEW of the announcement of the Imperial German Government on January 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas, would be sunk without any precautions being taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board.”

A STATE OF WAR

This announcement of the determined attitude of the Government of the United States, on the subject of submarine warfare, revealed to the American people our irrevocable attitude toward Germany and convinced the Imperial German Government that we were not for peace at any price. At once the censored German press was allowed to print articles announcing that the U boats would sink any ships in the barred zone. This policy was signalized by the sinking of the armed merchantman, the Aztec, in command of Lieut. Gresham, U. S. N., thus virtually attacking the armed forces of the United States.

Immediately upon the reassembling of Congress April 2nd the President, in an address to the joint session, advised that a state of war existed and called for his constitutional authority to prosecute war against the Imperial German Government.

I heard President Wilson deliver this dramatic
declaration in the Hall of Representatives at
Washington there were present the Congress judges of
TOWARD THE WAR Supreme Court diplomatic corps
the cabinet and high officers of government.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S CALL FOR DECLARATION OF WAR

I was at Commonwealth Club at lunch with party of
gentlemen when Allan Bates phoned Stewart Bryan
GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: "Who sat next to me that the President would address

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session be-
cause there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to
be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right
nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the
responsibility of making.

"On the 3d of February last I officially laid before you the
extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Gov-
ernment that on and after the first day of February it was
its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity
and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to
approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or
the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled
by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean.
That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine
warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year, the
Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the com-
manders of its undersea craft, in conformity with its prom-
ise, then given to us, that passenger boats should not be
sunk and that due warning would be given to all other
vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when
no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care
taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to
save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken
were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in dis-
tressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel
and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was
observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside.
Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character,
their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruth-
lessly sent to the bottom without warning and without
thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of
friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hos-
pital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and

the Congress at 8 p.m. [111] that day April 2nd 1917. I and
St. Bryan immediately hurried to U.S. Station first
phoning to my wife to bring me a few articles of toilet
and dress. On arrival at Washington we went at once

*to Senator Martins office where we left our small
bags & escorted by Frank Marking visited the doorkeeper
of "The House" where we obtained* AMERICA'S ATTITUDE
tickets of entrance *Herbert J. Holt*

stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

A WARFARE AGAINST MANKIND

"I WAS for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any Government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation has right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside, under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ, as it is employing them, without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

VINDICATION OF HUMAN RIGHT

"IT IS a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people

of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

SUBMARINES, AS USED, OUTLAWS

“WHEN I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws, when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is

practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

IMMEDIATE STEPS AGAINST GERMANY

“WITH a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

COUNSEL AND ACTION WITH THE ALLIES

“WHAT this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines.

“It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case

** This pronouncement was received by the audience with most tumultuous and patriotic applause led by Judge White, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court*
TOWARD THE WAR *W.C. C.*

of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service,* and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

"I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation, because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits, which will now be necessary, entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people, so far as we may, against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

"In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

"I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

AGAINST SELFISH AND AUTOCRATIC POWER

"**W**HILE we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world, what our motives and our objects are. My own thought

has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments, backed by organized force, which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States.

AGAINST SECRET INTRIGUE AND CUNNING

“WE HAVE no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with

spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A PARTNERSHIP OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

“**A** STEADFAST concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

“Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and

the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their naive majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

CRIMINAL INTRIGUES OF PRUSSIAN AUTOCRACY

“ONE of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government, with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues, which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country, have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government, accredited to the Government of the United States.

“Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE GERMAN PEOPLES INCLUDED

“WE ARE accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. We are now, about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

“The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

“Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

“I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare, adopted now

without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present, at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

"It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not with enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

* FRIENDS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

'WE ARE let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.

"We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are most of them as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance.

This is the only sentiment in the whole address that won not meet with general approval.

They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

"It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

RIGHT IS MORE PRECIOUS THAN PEACE

"**B**UT the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

"To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.

"God helping her, she can do no other."

APRIL 2, 1917.

WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY FORMALLY DECLARED

FOLLOWING the President's address a joint resolution by the Senate and House of Representatives was formed, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States Government and the Imperial German Government. On April 4th, at 11 o'clock P. M., it passed the Senate by a vote of 82 to 6. On April 6th at 3.15 A. M., the joint resolution was adopted by the House by a vote of 373 to 50. The President's signature was affixed April 6th, 1917.

The joint resolution is as follows :

WHEREAS, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

BATTLES AND EVENTS OF THE GREAT WAR

1914

Archduke Ferdinand of Austria assassinated in Serbia - - - - -	June	28
German forces enter Luxemburg - - -	August	1
German troops attack Liege - - - - -	"	4
Germans enter Liege - - - - -	"	7
France invaded southern Alsace - - - -	"	7
Germans enter Brussels - - - - -	"	20
Germans take Namur, attack Mons. Battles of Mons and Charleroi. Germans attack Allies along the Sambre - - - -	"	22
Louvain burned by Germans - - - -	"	27
Naval battle off Heligoland - - - - -	"	28
Russians defeated near Tannenburg by von Hindenburg - - - - -	"	29
French capital moved to Bordeaux - - -	September	3
Russians occupy Lemberg after taking Przemysl - - - - -	"	3
Battle of the Marne, frustrates German advance toward Paris - - - - -	"	7-10
Maubeuge taken by Germans - - - - -	"	7
Battle of the Aisne - - - - -	"	13 to Oct. 9
Russians capture Jaroslav, invest Przemysl	"	22
Germans take Antwerp - - - - -	October	9
De Wet mutiny against Great Britain in South Africa - - - - -	"	12
Edith Cavell executed by Germans in Belgium - - - - -	"	13
Belgian Government moved to Havre, France	"	13
Battle of Ypres - - - - -	"	21-31
Germans lost ten days' battle before Warsaw - - - - -	"	24
German fleet sinks Admiral Cradock's flagship off Chile - - - - -	November	1
British and French begin Dardanelles bombardment - - - - -	"	3
Tsing Tao, German fortress in China, surrenders to Japanese - - - - -	"	6

German raider Emden sunk	- - - - -	November	9
Second battle of Ypres	- - - - -	"	10-12
Austrians occupy Belgrade	- - - - -	December	2
General De Wet captured	- - - - -	"	2
Germans occupy Lodz	- - - - -	"	6
British naval victory off Falklands.	Scharnhorst sunk - - - - -	"	8
Austrians evacuate Belgrade	- - - - -	"	15
German cruisers bombard	unfortified English coast towns - - - - -	"	16

1915

French Retire from Aisne battle	- - -	January	14
Naval battle in North Sea. German cruiser			
Blücher sunk	- - - - -	"	24
Von Hindenburg again fails before Warsaw		February	4
German submarine blockade of Great Britain			
begins	- - - - -	"	18
Germans first use liquid fire in Vosges battle		March	3
Venizelos, Greek premier, resigns	- - -	"	6
Zeppelins bombard Paris	- - - - -	"	21
Przemysl surrenders to Germans	- - -	"	22
Falaba sunk by submarine, one American			
lost	- - - - -	"	28
Russians enter Hungary	- - - - -	"	31
Germans use asphyxiating gas to win			
battle near Ypres	- - - - -	April	22
Allies land forces at Dardanelles	- - -	"	25
Germans shell Dunkirk	- - - - -	"	30
Austro-Germans break Russian line in			
Galicia	- - - - -	May	1-3
Lusitania sunk, 1,200 lost, 100 Americans	-	"	7
Italians cross Isonzo and begin campaign	-	"	29
Zeppelins drop bombs in London	- - -	"	31
French win ground north of Arras	- - -	June	16
Venizelos wins Greek elections	- - - - -	"	12
Austrians enter Lemberg	- - - - -	"	22
Germans in South Africa surrender to			
General Botha, forfeiting West African			
possessions	- - - - -	July	8

Germans advanced in Argonne Forest - -	July	14
Germans occupy Warsaw and Ivangorod -	August	5
Naval battle in Gulf of Riga, Germans defeated - - - - -	"	16-21
Germans take Kovno - - - - -	"	17
Zeppelin raid on London outskirts - - -	"	17
Arabic torpedoed - - - - -	"	19
Germany accepts American contentions on submarine warfare - - - - -	September	1
Germans occupy Grodno - - - - -	"	2
Czar assumes charge of Russian Army, dis- placing Grand Duke Nicholas - - -	"	7
Germans take Vilna - - - - -	"	18
French and English win ground in Cham- pagne - - - - -	"	24-25
Zaimis succeeds Venizelos, Greek premier who resigns - - - - -	October	6
Allies land at Salonica - - - - -	"	"
Austro-Germans capture Belgrade - - -	"	9
French Foreign Minister Delcasse resigns -	"	13
Zeppelins kill 55 in London - - - - -	"	13
Austrians claim victory over Italians near Göritz - - - - -	"	25
Briand organizes French Cabinet - - -	"	29
Bulgarians occupy Nish - - - - -	November	5
Ancona torpedoed by Austrian submarine	"	6
Serbs lose Monastir; King Peter flees - -	"	30
Russians retake Czernowitz - - - - -	December	1
Ford peace ship sails - - - - -	"	4
Pope urges peace - - - - -	"	6
Allies evacuate Serbia - - - - -	"	10
Sir Douglas Haig succeeds Sir John French as Commander in Chief - - - - -	"	15

. 1916

Germans bombard Nancy, France - - -	January	6
Allies withdraw from Gallipoli Peninsula. Dardanelles attempt abandoned - -	"	9
Cettinge, capital of Montenegro, taken by Russians - - - - -	"	13
Zeppelins drop bombs on Paris at night -	"	20-30

Zeppelins bombard northern England - -	January	31
Fighting in Champagne and Ypres districts	January and Feb'y	
Germans bring Appam into Hampton Roads, one of many victims of German raider Möwe - - - - -	February	1
Russians capture Erzerum, Armenia - -	"	16
Fort Douamont in Verdun district captured by Germans, later won back by French	"	25
Kuropatkin heads Russian armies of North	"	26
Zeppelins raid English east coast - - -	March	5
Von Tirpitz resigns as German minister of marine - - - - -	"	15
Zeppelin raids on S. E. England - - - -	"	19
Sussex torpedoed - - - - -	"	24
British aeroplanes attack German air- ship shed in Schleswig - - - - -	"	25
Dublin revolution breaks out, after un- successful attempt to land German arms in Ireland - - - - -	April	24
British and Indian troops surrender at Kut- el-Amara - - - - -	"	28
Irish revolution crushed - - - - -	"	29
Germans renew attack on Verdun - - -	"	30
Three Irish revolution leaders shot - - -	May	3
Connolly, Irish revolutionist, executed -	"	12
Bulgarians enter Greece - - - - -	"	26
Great naval battle off Jutland - - - -	"	31
Earl Kitchener and staff en route to Russia perish at sea in steamer Hampshire -	June	6
Italian Cabinet under Salandra resigns -	"	11
Russians enter Czernowitz - - - - -	"	17
Greek Government yields to Allies' demands	"	22
Allied offensive begins in Somme battle -	July	1
Lloyd George made Secretary for War in Great Britain - - - - -	"	6
Russians capture Brody, Galicia - - - -	"	28
Roger Casement, Irish leader, hanged for treason - - - - -	August	3
Italians take Göritz - - - - -	"	9
French occupy Maurepas, north of the Somme - - - - -	"	24

Von Hindenburg succeeds von Falkenhayn as Chief of Staff of German armies -	August	29
Belgian forces in German East Africa take Tabora, principal city - - - - -	September	11
Zaimis ministry in Greece resigns - - -	"	13
British use armored "tanks" first time -	"	14
Zeppelin raids on London - - - - -	" 23-25, Oct.	1
Heavy Allies advances in Somme region -	October	7
German submarine sinks six ships off Nan- tucket - - - - -	"	8
Germans at Verdun evacuate Fort Vaux -	November	2
Kingdom of Poland proclaimed by Ger- many and Austria - - - - -	"	5
Cardinal Mercier protests deportation of Belgians by Germany - - - - -	"	7
Serbians and other Allies recapture Mon- astir - - - - -	"	19
British hospital ship Britannic sunk by mine in Ægean sea - - - - -	"	21
Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria dies; Charles I succeeds him - - - - -	"	21
Great battle of seven nations from Danube to Stokhod rivers on 600 mile front -	December	1
Asquith resigns as British Premier - - -	"	5
German Crown Prince renews attack on Verdun - - - - -	"	7
Lloyd George announces his Cabinet - -	"	10
French General Robert Neville makes bril- liant dash at Verdun, regaining great advantages - - - - -	"	15
Neville succeeds Joffre as French Com- mander in Chief - - - - -	"	17

1917

Conference of Allies in Rome - - - -	January	5
Trepoff, Russian Premier, resigns. Prince Golitzin named to succeed him - - -	"	5
New British drive on the Ancre - - - -	"	12
News of German raider sinking many ships in South Atlantic - - - - -	"	18
Prize ship Yarrowdale reaches German har- bor with 469 prisoners, 72 Americans -	"	19

Battle in North Sea between British and German Naval Forces - - - - -	January	22-23
Allies make great gains in Somme battle -	Jan.-Feb.	
British rout Turks, retaking Kut-el-Amara after two months' offensive - - - -	Feb.	24
British steamer Laconia torpedoed; 12 lost —three Americans - - - - -	"	25
President asks Congress for power to arm merchantmen and otherwise defend neutrality - - - - -	"	26
Bethmann-Hollweg, in Reichstag, defends submarine warfare; says U. S. favors Allies - - - - -	"	27
German plot to ally Japan and Mexico against U. S. exposed - - - - -	"	28
German plot with Colombia to seize Panama Canal charged - - - - -	March	2
Germany admits Mexico-Japan plot - - -	"	3
64th Congress expires by limitation without passing Armed Neutrality Bill - - -	"	4
German and Hindu arrested in New York in plot for revolt in India - - - -	"	6
Fifty-nine Americans from captured Yarrowdale, held in Germany, released - -	"	8
Belgian relief ship Storstad reported sunk. One American aboard - - - - -	"	10
Anglo-Indian troops enter Bagdad - - -	"	11
American Merchant ships armed - - - -	"	12
Germans make heavy retreat before Bapaume - - - - -	"	13
China severs relations with Germany - -	"	14
American steamer Algonquin, sunk, unwarned - - - - -	"	15
Revolution in Russia. Czar abdicates. Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich made regent, also abdicates. Provisional government under the Duma takes charge - - - - -	"	15
U-Boats sink three U. S. ships, City of Memphis, Vigilancia and Illinois. Twelve or more Americans lost - - -	"	18

President Wilson divided the country into six army departments. Ordered mobil- ization into Federal Service of twelve regiments in ten States - - - - -	March	25
President Wilson ordered the enlisted per- sonnel of the navy increased by 87,000	"	26
Armed American freighter, Aztec, torpedoed without warning near Brest. Lieut. Fuller Gresham and twelve American bluejackets saved. Eleven of crew reported lost - - - - -	April	1
Joint resolution of Senate and House of Representatives prepared, declaring "State of War" - - - - -	"	2
President Wilson addresses Congress, urges war with all resources, liberal credits to Allies, and an army of 500,000 men - -	"	2
Unarmed American merchantman Missou- rian sunk in Mediterranean - - - -	"	4
Joint resolution passes Senate - - - - -	"	4
Joint resolution passes House - - - - -	"	6
War with Imperial German Government Formally Declared - - - - -	"	6

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